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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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4 March 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### ALBANIA

- Message of New Hoxha Book for Youth Discussed  
(Mehmet Elezi; ZERI I RINISE, 8 Dec 84) ..... 1

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Deputy Premier Addresses Clergy Congress  
(PRAVDA, 6 Feb 85) ..... 5
- Czech Catholicism on 'New and Promising Path'  
(Vatican City International Service, 10 Feb 85) ..... 10
- Pacem in Terris Congress Opened  
(RUDE PRAVO, 5 Feb 85) ..... 12
- Pacem in Terris Congress Addresses Letter to Husak  
(Prague Domestic Service, 5 Feb 85) ..... 14
- Briefs  
International Youth Organizations ..... 16

#### HUNGARY

- New National Leadership Training Program Instituted  
(Nandor Bognar; MAGYAR NEMZET, 26 Jan 85) ..... 17
- 'Second Society' Plays Vital Role in Hungarian Life  
(Elemér Hankiss; VALOSAG, Nov 84) ..... 21
- Small Religious Groups Described  
(József Fodor; SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE, No 8-9, 1984) ..... 39

#### POLAND

- Officer School Graduates Discuss Careers, Experiences  
(Marek Sieniawski; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 13 Dec 84) ..... 48

Shortcomings in Self-Management Cited (Jozef Barecki; ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY, No 44, 1-7 Nov 84)	53
Changes in, Performance of Higher Education Assessed (TRYBUNA LUDU, 4 Jan 85; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 4 Jan 85)	61
New Selection Criteria Need for Socialist Education	
Micewski Discusses Church Participation in Social Functions (Andrzej Micewski Interview; NOWE ZYCIE, No 24, 30 Dec 84- 12 Jan 85)	64
Catholic Weekly Highlights Top Stories of 1984 (PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, No 27-28, 23-30 Dec 84)	68
Dialectical Analysis of Pope's Catholic Ideology (Aleksander Madejski; ARGUMENTY, No 40, 30 Sep 84, No 41, 7 Oct 84)	80

#### YUGOSLAVIA

Problem of Kosovo Albanians Returning From Sweden (Ingemar Lofgren; DAGENS NYHETER, 25 Jan 85)	92
Sociologist Portrays 'Young Bureaucrat' (Zivko Surculija Interview; BORBA, 26-27 Jan 85)	95
TU Body on Judges Who Are Not Reelected (BORBA, 19-20 Jan 85)	96
No Reason To Ignore Church 'Aggressiveness' (TANJUG, 1 Feb 85)	97

#### Briefs

Srebric Invited to Bulgaria	100
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ALBANIA

# MESSAGE OF NEW HOXHA BOOK FOR YOUTH DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 8 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth: "A Great Message for our Generation: Comrade Enver Hoxha's Book, 'Kur u Hodhen Themelet e Shqiperise se Re' [When the Foundations of the New Albania were Laid]"]

[Text] Comrade Enver's new book, "Kur u Hodhen Themelet e Shqiperise se Re," ends with a great message for our generation. With a message "in the name of our blood and our effort, our sweat and our privations" to be "ever vigilant, ever at work and in assault to defend the victories that have been achieved and to lead them still further," to preserve and develop consistently "everything that we have achieved like the apple of your eye," as was also emphasized in the greetings of our beloved leader on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. This precious teaching emanates from the whole content of this book and from the entire literary work of Comrade Enver. It comes as a majestic finale in "Rreziku Anglo-Amerikan per Shqiperine" [The Anglo-American Threat to Albania], in "Titistet" [The Titoites], in "Hrushovianet" [The Khrushchevites] and in the whole theoretical thought and marvellous work of our party. It is a generalization of our history and it is its voice.

As is emphasized in the book, our people's power and the invincible union of the people around the party, made concrete in the organization of the Democratic Front, are two of the most monumental acts of the party's epoch. The period when the foundations of these were laid, the foundations of the new Albania, is unforgotten. The lessons that emerge from it, which are given to us with beauty and strength in a generalized form in Comrade Enver's new work, have a vital importance for the young generation in order that they may see as clearly as possible that the new Albania was not built on flowers or across a paved road. On its foundations, a river of blood flowed and the sweat bubbled.

Nazi fascism was a very fierce enemy, with its military machine, which was the best equipped of its time. But nazi fascism was not the only dangerous enemy that confronted our people, with the party at its forefront. The people say: "May God protect me from my 'friends' and I will protect myself from my enemies." The party knew well how to protect itself from and conquer both

groups: the open enemies and the secret enemies. As is reflected in the book, they have been appearing and acting with all their dangerousness from the days of the foundation of the party until our time: once as the Anglo-American "allies" or the Yugoslav and other "internationalists"; once as the "learned" and experienced "fathers" of the nation, such as Mithat Frasheri and the reactionary intellectuals who were mustered at "the forefront of treason"; once as the "heads"--or really the tails--of "influence" on the masses, such as Abaz Kupa; once as "the great principled communists," such as Sejfulla Malëshova and the "councils" from Olimpi or as genuine agents who hid themselves behind responsibilities which the people had entrusted to them--from Gjergj Kokoshe and Koci Xoxe up to Mehmet Shehu and his gang of traitors. All of these played the dangerous game of the feudal bourgeoisie, of the Anglo-American "allies," of the Yugoslav or Khrushchevite revisionists and of internal and international reaction.

Our party scented in time this game of blood and crime which the internal and external enemies, in a common trench, were preparing for the Albanian people. It acted with intelligence and self-possession, with great political and ideological bravery and clarity, strongly supported by the people. Comrade Enver Hoxha's debates with the reactionary pseudo-intellectuals should be kept in mind and one has the desire to return to them and read them several times: his replies are striking for their strong and categorical Marxist-Leninist logic, which pushes his opponents to the wall; the same is true for his conversations, full of tact and intelligence, with the patriots and individuals of our people.

As is also revealed by this book, the greater our achievements have been, the more intense the rage of our enemies has been and the more fiercely they have developed the class struggle against us. The vigilance of all our people, therefore, has been and must be all the greater, particularly that of the young generation, who must inherit the majestic work of socialism in Albania and lead it forward in an ever stronger and more flourishing manner.

What disturbs our enemies greatly?

Socialism in our country occupies a stronger position than ever before in all ways: politically, economically and militarily. Our enemies hoped that Albania would remain isolated and would call for help with hands outstretched, but their hopes have faded. They dreamed that Albania would be economically impoverished, but the Albanian reality, with its unceasing development, without crises, unemployment and inflation, and with a continual growth in the well-being of the masses, has disappointed their dreams. They exerted themselves many times in attempts to create internal turbulence, but our internal situation is as clear as light and the turbulence was agitated in their own heads. They placed great hope on that agent of a hundred flags, Mehmet Shehu, and his gang. They had worked for 40 years with patience and cunning so that they would have Albania "on a platter" one day. But due precisely to our unity, as Comrade Enver emphasizes in his book, this hope was made dust and ashes, while our enemies and their plans ended up and will end up "on a platter."

These victories for us and failures for them infuriate our enemies even more. Albania is the only socialist country in the world where the people are in power: the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its economic and social system embodies the aspirations of the proletariat and peoples of the world: it represents the future. This future is against the superpowers and reaction, against capitalism and revisionism. It is this that they cannot endure, that cuts them to the bone.

From the strategic standpoint as well, Albania is very much envied for its key position in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. This has been a temptation for thousands of years for the superpowers. By invading Illyria, ancient Rome was able to open the door to enter the Balkans, just as the ottoman empire, by invading Albania, opened a path on which to launch themselves into the Appenine peninsula and over all of European civilization. The tsar of Moscow, as Karl Marx pointed out, had cherished an old greed for an opening on the Adriatic, at Otranto, if possible. This greed has been conveyed, more and more actively, to the new tsars as well. It is sufficient to remember what Comrade Enver wrote in "Hrushovianet" and the reply which he hurled at Khrushchev, who had said that a powerful military base could be built in Albanian Butrint from where the whole of Europe could be placed in one's fist like a bird. As is known from history, the fist that the Khrushchevites received from the party of the Albanian people was: "Let them launch into action their pressures, their threats, their submarines and their hunger," as Comrade Enver recalls in his new book. The Anglo-American imperialists experienced the same bitter taste and whoever will follow in their footsteps can experience it at any time. It is also known that we have many fierce enemies and that they are not easily reconciled to their losses. This is all the more true when the world situation is troubled and the superpowers are fanning the flames of war unceasingly.

In these circumstances, all the people, and especially the young generation, must always be alert and watchful, always awake. To be alert and vigilant means, in the first place, to execute and defend the party line to the last detail and in every area, while fulfilling all tasks and working with perseverance, tenacity and knowledge. In this way, there is a growth in the political commitment of youth with respect to the great problems of our country. The movement, "Where there is youth, there must be progress," is also embodied in a continually more concrete manner.

What is the basis of our victories and our enemies' downfall? The basis and explanation, Comrade Enver writes, lies in the political and ideological connection of the people around the party, which is "more unbreakable than any connection which can exist in the world." The most vigorous part of the front where this connection is made concrete, in the years of struggle and in socialist construction as well, has been and is precisely our young men and women. With revolutionary vigor and a clear mind, they have contributed and give unceasing help to the strengthening of the organs of authority and to the steeling of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From this new book by Comrade Enver, concrete tasks and teachings are revealed for the organization of youth, and for the whole young generation,



in order to deepen further these traditions, to work and struggle with determination to defend, strengthen and elevate further these two creations," "two of the greatest and brightest achievements," the Democratic Front and the people's power. There are instructions to follow situations and their development with attention in order always to evaluate every event and action on the basis of the party line. There are instructions to make them correspond with the everlasting spirit of action and with usefulness, especially in the more important sectors: mining, oil, agriculture and wherever the fatherland has a need. There are instructions on the best possible assimilation and execution of the military art of people's war, so that we may defend our victories and rejoice. In addition, to develop the attack and alertness against every foreign manifestation, whether in classic form or clothed as "something new," and against manifestations of routine, bureaucracy and liberalism, which are inimical to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the unity of the people and socialism.

Enemies have manifested themselves and can manifest themselves in many ways: in the form of military generals with rank, but also in the form of a "phonograph general," and in their degenerate culture, in order to kill spiritually and physically. They are manifested in the harshness of the economic blockade, but also in the "generosity" of help, in exchange for which they do not demand silver or gold, but they demand what weighs more than all the gold in the world: freedom. They are manifested in the teeth of rockets, but also in the smiles that come across screens, where the colors of television commercials and the objects of the infrastructure shine, and where a simple, happy man is never seen. The simple, happy man is lacking on the screen of the capitalist and revisionist world because he is lacking in reality in that world.

The great message of those who laid the foundations, who built and who reinforce daily the socialist fortress in Albania, together with the whole people and at their forefront, is transmitted once again by our beloved leader and rings out strongly and inspiringly: "We must not let anyone, whoever it may be, trample on and deny our immortal and sacred work, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We must strengthen it, temper it, embellish it and hold it aloft as our ideal. In this way, our fortress, socialist Albania, will be strengthened and built even more majestically from generation to generation!"

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CSO: 2100/25

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DEPUTY PREMIER ADDRESSES CLERGY CONGRESS

AU080952 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 85 p 2

[CTK report on the speech delivered by CSSR Deputy Premier Matej Lucan on 5 February in the Palace of Culture in Prague to the participants in the Third Congress of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy]

[Excerpts] Permit me to thank you, on behalf of myself and of the ministers of culture of the Czech and Slovak SR's, for the invitation to your congress; and to sincerely greet you on behalf of the CSSR Government and National Front.

I have followed with great attention and interest the course of your session up to now. The report and the discussion statements--and, I would say, the entire atmosphere of this congress--testify to your most responsible attitude to the key issues of international development and of our domestic life. It reflects your firm resolve to devote all your energy to the further struggle to successfully defend peace and life on our earth, for our own and for the future generations. It also reflects your resolve to lead the believers toward creative love for our socialist fatherland, and to aid our people's selfless effort to achieve its further all-round development and upsurge into new beauty and richness. The congress also expresses your resolve to do everything to further deepen the good relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. Permit me to thank you sincerely for your work to date, as well as for your resolve to continue this work on a new and higher level.

The Church and religious circles are playing a significant role in the peace efforts of the peoples throughout the world. Here, too, the American Administration has failed in its intention to transform the Church into a tool of its policy against socialism, against progress and the peoples' freedom, against peace. Church circles throughout the world are continuing their efforts to successfully defend the sacred gift of life, and peace as the basic condition of the existence of human society.

The significant role that can also be played by Church representatives in the solution of the most important issues of the current development was also shown in Konstantin Chernenko's recent reply to the message of the consultative meeting of Church representatives from the United States and the socialist countries in Karlovy Vary. That is also why our entire society attributes such great significance to the approaching Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly which will be held at the beginning of this July in this very place, in the Palace of Culture in Prague.

Permit me, esteemed gentlemen, to express high appreciation of the fact that the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy has correctly recognized and honorably fulfilled its task in these complicated and difficult times. Together with the people of our country it has not let itself be deceived, it has not let itself be intimidated by various attacks, slanders, and threats--it stands firmly on the side of life and peace.

At the same time it was not true in the past, and it is even less true at present, that the Association of Catholic Clergy is isolated in its peace activities. Millions and millions of believers, millions of Catholics in the world, including many bishops and clergy, consider it to be their sacred duty today to take a stand against the threat of nuclear war. Among them, the Association of Catholic Clergy can proudly say that it recognized its place and its responsibility a long time ago.

But the most important tasks are still facing us. Yes, it is within our combined strength to succeed in defending peace. But it is not enough to look on, to merely hope and trust.

Our society is a thousand times more democratic than those who attack us day after day and accuse us of totalitarianism. We have built a society which is facing clear-cut and reliable prospects. Our country will march along the path of socialism, and only along the path of socialism, toward new riches--material, cultural, and spiritual riches--and toward new glory and greatness of its national history.

Permit me in this connection to express appreciation of the fact that the believers of all churches, including the Roman Catholic Church, are fully participating in the indivisible unity of our people in this construction feat in the CSSR. In their overwhelming majority they support the domestic and peace foreign policy of the National Front and they belong to the devoted builders of our industry, agriculture, science, technology, and culture.

During the years of socialist construction a good relationship was established among the believers toward the entire society. Likewise, positive relations were shaped between the state and the churches. The substantial majority of Roman Catholic Clergy and of high church dignitaries know very well that the Catholics in our society are living and operating in freedom, and that they want to lead their believers to honest work for our society. It is on this foundation that the relationship of mutual trust--the trust of these church representatives in the state and the society, and the trust of the state and the society in them--was gradually established.

Also in the future, we are interested in having these relations increasingly develop on these foundations in particular. And, permit me to declare here at this forum, it is precisely the Association of Catholic Clergy that embodies this trust and guarantees that it is justified. That is also why the Association of Catholic Clergy is playing such an important and, as we justly say, irreplaceable role in relations between the state and the Church.

Our state sincerely esteems the representatives of the Association of Catholic Clergy as loyal citizens of their fatherland who are simultaneously devoted to their faith and their Church. They are aiding the interests of their Church by their real deeds--not like those who are babbling about Church interests, while in reality undermining the Church's place in the society--whether they realize this or not. Permit me in this connection to sincerely welcome the stand maintained by the substantial majority of Roman Catholic ordinaries, who are affirming the Church credibility of the Association of the Catholic Clergy. This is a responsible attitude and an expression of an honorable relationship toward the fatherland and the Church.

The very fact that we are meeting in friendship--both here, at this congress, but also on other occasions--the fact that you are meeting in regions and districts with the representatives of the bodies of the people's power, and that you exchange opinions with them and solve open issues, this fact testifies to the extensive possibilities of mutual understanding. Our society respects your faith. The difference in the world outlook is no obstacle if we are bound by our devotion to peace and to life, by interest in the happiness and welfare of our people, by love for our beloved patrimony.

True, there are people for whom these good relations, and the very effort to achieve them, are like a thorn in their side. That is also why the activity of the Association of Catholic Clergy is a thorn in their side. They slander it, they attack it. Particularly the antisocialist centers in the West, and also other circles abroad--including, in one prominent place, the anti-Czechoslovak emigres--make no secret of their wish that we should have conflicts, that we should have a kind of permanent war between the state and the Church, as they themselves say. They are abusing everything to this end, they fabricate the meanest slanders and lies.

These people have nothing in common with the interests of believers, with their sincere faith, or with the interests of the Church. On the contrary--it is their intention to misuse the Church and the faith as a political tool in the fight against socialism, against the people, and against peace. Herein lies the substance and purpose of the attacks and slanders against the Association of Catholic Clergy.

Deplorably, even in our own country we can still find individuals who, under the influence from abroad or from certain domestic schemers, have not given up their endeavor to disseminate the seed of hatred and conflict. But these are merely single individuals, who are placing themselves in isolation by their own attitude. I am glad to be able to state that the substantial majority of Roman Catholic priests and ordinaries realize themselves that such and similar attitudes or various actions are essentially harming the interests of believers, and of the Church itself.

Our socialist state proceeds from the idea that citizens who are believers are, and will continue to be, an inseparable part of CSSR citizens with equal rights; and that for this reason the Churches, too, have their logical place here that is guaranteed by law. The only reliable and effective way of ensuring the believers' interests and the justified needs of the Churches, of resolving and overcoming the problems presented by life, is the way of good mutual relations, of a serious discussion of open issues on the basis of mutual understanding and trust. And if some people take a different course in practical life, this does not correspond to the policy of our state.

In the past period a lot of positive things were done in the mutual relations between the state and the Churches. It is sufficient to take a look at the churches and cathedrals, some of which are among our precious national memorials. Many of them are now again shining with the historic beauty and majesty with which our ancestors, and also later generations, had lovingly built them.

It must be stated that the Association of Catholic Clergy in particular was the initiator of resolving quite a number of issues. This applies, for instance, to literature and the press. As is known, the CATHOLIC NEWS is published throughout the republic with almost 250,000 copies; this is no small number, even on a worldwide scale. The paper SPIRITUAL SHEPHERD publishes more than 7,500 copies. On the basis of an application submitted by the Association of Catholic Clergy, a total of 200,000 Bibles, 70,000 catechisms, and 400,000 hymn books are currently prepared for publication in the Czech and Slovak SR's. Several remarkable publications, which enjoy considerable interest among the priests, have been published by the Association of Catholic Clergy itself.

The CSSR Government fully respects the fact that the Churches and the believers need appropriate literature; we consider the publication of such literature under domestic conditions to be the decisive way to acquire it, both today and in the future. Even despite the fact that we import quite a lot of literature from abroad.

On yet another issue, too, the representatives of the Association of Catholic Clergy in particular were again the ones to point out the problem emerging in connection with the high average age of the clergy, and the considerable number of their retirements due to this.

As is known, in the last few years the number of new students registered in the School of Divinity has considerably increased.

Sometimes people discuss religious tuition of children. As is known, religion is being taught in Czechoslovakia's schools at the request of the children's parents. This is a form which has proved right. At the same time we will consistently see to it that the existing regulations are violated neither by the one, nor by the other side, and that they are adhered to by both sides.

Quite understandably, in my greetings statement I cannot deal with all specific issues; also, this is not the right place to resolve them. However, our experience confirms to the fullest extent that the path toward this leads solely and only via serious negotiations and mutual trust, so that this would benefit the people and our common fatherland.

Permit me to conclude by briefly mentioning the CSSR Government's negotiations with the Vatican. Here, too, I would like to express appreciation of the fact that the Association of the Catholic Clergy has considerably contributed toward the renewal of mutual contacts by its honest work. We approach these negotiations in a constructive manner and with good will. In full harmony with the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, we proceed from the principle of mutual

respect and noninterference in internal affairs; we proceed from the principle of respect for our social system, as well as for our inalienable right to have our own laws and regulations, but also from the self-evident fact that the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia is living now, and will live in the future, under the conditions of a socialist society.

At the same time there is sufficient scope on this platform for agreement on matters of common interest. There is both willingness and preparedness for this on our side.

Esteemed gentlemen: I am firmly convinced that the Third National Congress of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy will be a new and most significant impulse for yet more intensive work of all its components, of all its members, and also of those who are still standing aside; that it will be an impulse for them to continue yet more efficiently to fulfill their lofty and humane slogan "To Serve and Help." Permit me on behalf of the CSSR Government to wish you in this further work full success, in the name of peace and a further upsurge of our beloved fatherland.

CSO: 2400/261

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH CATHOLICISM ON 'NEW AND PROMISING PATH'

LD110453 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 10 Feb 85

[From "The Church and the World" program presented by Father Petr Kolar]

[Text] Last October, a remarkable document called "The Situation of the Religious Orders in Czechoslovakia" came to light in Bratislava, and was subsequently adopted by Charter 77 and prefaced by them. This is the form in which the document recently came into our hands. The document is truly remarkable, not only because it was adopted by Charter 77, which, in itself, is an event, but because of the text itself. It is a very clear analysis of what the religious orders and societies in Czechoslovakia have gone through since the great nocturnal intervention which, during the course of one single night, effectively put an end to their existence in Czechoslovakia. [The "nocturnal event" took place on 13 April 1950, when the State Office for Church Affairs, on the grounds that the Catholic Church was in breach of the office's new law requiring it to ask government approval of church appointments, rounded up most Catholic priests in the country in one night and took them for "reeducation" doing heavy manual work on farms or in factories. There followed a series of show trials of clergy who refused to recognize the state's jurisdiction over Church affairs, at which they were accused of being "agents of the Vatican espionage nest." This effectively represented the end of free activity of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia.]

Only a few weeks separate us from the 35th anniversary of that illegal act of destruction, and this is the probable reason for the document being drawn up. At that time, 35 years ago, there were a total of more than 15,000 priests and nuns in Czechoslovakia, while today there are virtually no nuns to speak of in Czechoslovakia. True, there is no law which forbids their existence, a situation which is even more drastic than in the Soviet Union itself, where Orthodox convents, despite all the restrictions, still manage to exist.

Looking around us, we cannot fail to observe that the situation in Czechoslovakia in this respect is not only the worst, but cannot even be compared with other countries, save perhaps Albania. The situation in that country after World War II was so different, however, that even this comparison cannot be taken seriously. It is the very difference between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union which suggests that the particular situation in Czechoslovakia cannot be explained by mere intervention from outside, even if we disregard

developments in Poland and Hungary. The main factor in the explanation must inevitably be sought in Czechoslovakia itself. Here again, we cannot attribute everything to the results of what is notoriously referred to as "the difficult situation" and the particularly malicious and unbelievably zealous "executors of the measures in 1950" as these repressive actions are euphemistically referred to in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. We are not concerned here with further exacerbating the situation or opening up old and painful wounds--quite the opposite, in fact.

The document once again reflects the profound changes within Czech Catholicism and also in the relations of other societies to it. There are changes which have taken place since that time, and this is gradually becoming a generally recognized fact. From the Christian viewpoint, it represents without doubt the brightest feature on an otherwise very gloomy background. It is also a gratifying fact, not least because it relates to the future, the future of the whole Church, and also of our society. This is therefore a very significant and gratifying fact. The Church's lack of freedom is a reflection of our current way of life. The remedy does not consist in a miraculous change in the thinking of our leaders, nor in a cleverly-manuevered replacement of those leaders at a suitable time. According to the Gospel, the degree of true freedom of Christians does not depend on the government under which they live at any given time, but on the quality of their relationship to Christ. The present state of our Church is not merely the result of the violence perpetrated against us, but also--and to a large degree--the result of what we ourselves live by, and how we live. The remedy consists in changing our own way of life, our relationship to the Church and to Christ. The consequence of this will be a better order in society. The opposite approach is simply impossible. The document about the religious orders shows that we are presently witnessing exactly this kind of change at home in Czechoslovakia.

Presently, nothing new is coming in from outside, but within Czechoslovakia the Czech Catholic and Czech Catholicism is on a new and promising path. The changes from within, of which we--our generation--are currently witnesses, is changing the whole situation and will eventually bring inevitable outward changes in the relations between Church and state, for example. In any case, this is the only aspect of our present life on which we can have a direct and real influence.

CSO: 2400/261



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PACEM IN TERRIS CONGRESS OPENED

AU061318 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Feb 85 p 1

[CTK report: "To Serve and Aid Peace"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--The Third National Congress of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy was opened on Monday [4 February] afternoon in the Palace of Culture in Prague. During their 2-day deliberations up to 350 delegates will assess the activity of the association in the past 5 years and set the tasks for the next period. Catholic bishops, chapter vicars, and other church dignitaries are also present at the congress.

The congress is attended by Matej Lucan, CSSR deputy premier; Milan Klusak and Miroslav Valek, ministers of culture of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics respectively; Bedrich Svestka, chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee; and Vladimir Janku, head of the CSSR Government Secretariat for Church Affairs. The guests include representatives of similar Christian peace movements from Hungary, Poland, and the Soviet Union; and also representatives of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics.

The first day of the congress deliberations were opened and chaired by Canon Zdenek Adler, doctor of theology and central secretary of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy. The main speech was delivered by Chapter Dean Vaclav Javurek, chairman of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy in the Czech SR. He underscored the role played by the organized peace movement of the Catholic clergy, consisting of the patriotic priests of both our nations, in the development of relations between the church and the state. The activities of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy in the past 5 years reaffirmed the firm place held by this movement in our society. In this connection Vaclav Javurek recalled the share of the association's members in the consolidation of peace and friendship between the nations, and also their participation in the development of their fatherland.

The association considers its contribution to the preservation of peace on our planet to be its primary task also in the future. That is why it fully supports the peace effort of our state, of the Soviet Union, and of the other socialist countries and all peace-loving forces throughout the world. It rejects the aggressive policy of the U.S. Government, and particularly its endeavors to militarize space; and it fully condemns the revival of West German revanchism. The priests will exert their influence on the believers in the spirit of the

ideas of peace, thus fulfilling the legacy of those who 40 years ago laid down their lives for the freedom of our fatherland.

Professor Stefan Janega, doctor of theology and dean of the Cyril and Method School of Divinity in Bratislava, reflected in the discussion on the mission fulfilled by the Church in consolidating all endeavors which contribute toward the people's peaceful coexistence and their mutual cooperation. In this connection he particularly stressed the significance of rearing believers to support world peace. In the spirit of the association's slogan "To Serve and Help," its members will seek contact with all those who have the peaceful future and happiness of mankind at heart.

The Third National Congress of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy will continue on Tuesday [5 February].

On the occasion of the congress of the Association of Catholic Clergy, a festive concert took place on the evening of 4 January in the Palace of Culture in Prague. After the concert the congress delegates met Matej Lucan, CSSR deputy premier; Milan Klusak, minister of culture in the Czech SR; and other personalities of our public life.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PACEM IN TERRIS CONGRESS ADDRESSES LETTER TO HUSAK

LD051952 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] The third statewide Congress of the Czechoslovak Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy ended today in Prague. Professor Frantisek Vymetal, vicar general of the Olomouc Archdiocese, Dean of the Cyril and Methodious religious faculty in Litomerice, became the new chairman of its federal committee.

In an adopted program declaration, the participants of the congress confirmed their loyalty to church and state. They expressed their determination to continue contributing to preserving peace and to a just organization of the world, and to support everything which leads to the common good.

At the close of the session they approved a letter to Gustav Husak, president of the republic, stating that the association's activity, as well as the proceedings of its third statewide congress, are directed by the conviction that--particularly in this period of intensive struggle against the danger of nuclear war--it is necessary to look for a link and cooperation with all those who long for life in secure peace. They express the conviction that the only way to place an obstacle before the forces of war, force, and any evil, is to participate in the constructive struggle of all our society and that priests and their believers must follow this path.

Another part of the letter states that the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our homeland by the Soviet Army reminds us not only of the end of World War II but also of the great work of renewal and development which was achieved in the past years of peaceful and free life. In the letter the participants of the congress also praise the political stability, the far-reaching social and labor activity, the upward development in the national economy, the high standard of living, and the rich cultural and spiritual life in our country. They thanked the president of the republic, Gustav Husak, for his selfless and tireless work as the highest Czechoslovak representative and they expressed their gratitude for the attention which he gives to the activity of the association.

In the close of the letter to Gustav Husak, president of the republic, the participants of the third statewide congress of the Czechoslovak Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy, emphasized their wish to contribute to the further all-round flourishing of our socialist homeland and the creation of good and constructive relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state through their priestly work among believers.

In a letter to the Czechoslovak Peace Committee the clergy expressed their full support for all action aimed at strengthening peace on our planet; they highly praised the USSR peace proposals and condemned the militarist course of the U.S. Government. The delegates of the congress also sent a message to Pope John Paul II.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS--Prague (CTK)--A consultative meeting of leading representatives of the International Students' Union, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the All-Arab Youth Union, and the General Union of Arab Students on preparations of young people and students from the Middle East for the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow was held in the Prague headquarters of the Secretariat of the International Students' Union yesterday. The meeting was chaired by Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the International Students' Union. A meeting of young people and students of the Arab world will convene in Aden (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) from 4 to 6 March under the slogan "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship," on the initiative of the International Students' Union and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The international and regional youth and student organizations represented at the meeting condemned the attempts of reactionary forces to misuse the UN platform and the International Year of the Youth for aims that run counter to the interests of democratic youth in the world. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Feb 85 p 2]

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HUNGARY

## NEW NATIONAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM INSTITUTED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Nandor Bognar: "Leaders in the Circle"]

[Text] It is not a rare phenomenon to see concepts which by themselves are well known, practical, timely and important appear as rather unusual when they are linked together. This is how matters stand, too, with managers and quality. The rise in requirements placed on managers, the new enterprise organizational forms, and the modification of the appointive order all direct attention toward business managers. Similarly, the rise in the level of domestic supplies and the fulfillment of export tasks caution us of the importance of quality. However, until now the quality of leadership has been a rarely heard of concept, although soon a network of quality circles for leaders will be established in Hungary. What does this organizational form mean, and why is it needed? We discussed these matters with Dr Ferenc Nemes, candidate and scientific director of the National Leadership Training Center.

### Letter to Former Students

[Answer] It is well known that the changes in the world economy, the increasingly strict and varied requirements of enterprise work confront economic leaders with increasingly greater tasks. For a successful adaptation it is necessary to acquire new knowledge and new leadership and organizational procedures. We believe that in addition to all these things the discovery of the often mentioned human factors and the modernization of leadership on such an "unofficial" course is one of our greatest reserves in the attainment of our economic and social goals. The view has developed among us that the establishment of a systematic and intensive forum in leadership theory and practice would be of great profit to our economy. Proceeding from this recognition our institute would like to renew its ties with all those who were once its students.

[Question] In effect then you wish to organize "friendly circles of alumni" who have completed studies here?

[Answer] Not entirely. We are thinking of an "association" of former students similar to the advocacy membership or to well-functioning quality circles abroad with a different mission. Naturally we would be careful to see that the

cooperation is informal, free from formality, and would not require additional preoccupation. From time to time we would send out information, organize professional discussions and exchanges of experience, that is, we would attempt to provide some kind of intellectual service. We would create opportunities for the development of intensive ties among business managers, the extension of good methods, and the availability of good forums for successful managers. We would want to give speaking opportunities to those who on a daily basis are able to confront business management theory with practice. We are also relying on retired managers, it is essential to utilize their experiences and results.

Following the conceptualization of intentions, letters were sent to all parts of the country to former students of the institute inquiring whether they would consider participating in the establishment of this kind of a managers' club. We were somewhat apprehensive about the replies for it is well known that managers do not have an abundance of free time, and it was not certain that they would want to use their surplus energy for activity related to their everyday work. Thus the large number of replies and the content of the letters proved to be surprising: there were about 2,000 who responded and most of them not only welcomed the initiative but also offered concrete help and cooperation.

I think it is worthwhile to look at some of these letters. For example, one of the managers of the National Planning Office wrote: "We would be glad to participate as a social activity in the further organizational work and also in the actual discussions. We are occupied primarily with the organizational and procedural problems of government economic guidance, and I would consider it useful if you would organize a discussion on this subject with the participation of those interested . . . ." The following reply came from a trust manager: "I consider club-type gatherings useful, and in my opinion it would also be necessary to establish a committee to plan the annual program so as to meet the needs of the participants. . . ." The commercial director of a large Transdanubian enterprise wrote: "It would be of interest to discuss such subjects, for example, as the development of the management of enterprises with different profiles and their internal organization, their critical evaluation, consultations among specialized directors, and so forth." A retired deputy director from Budapest writes at the end of a four-page, single-spaced letter that ". . . I have described only in outline my ideas about the managerial associations that are to be formed. . . ."

#### Continuation Training and Research

Thus the initiative has met with a favorable response. Most of those who received inquiries sent approving and supportive replies. Two thirds of those replying are from Budapest, and almost 90 percent are still active in management, and about 200 are retired managers who indicated an intention to cooperate. Half of those replying were enterprise managers, 25 percent in economic management organizations or institutions, and another 25 percent engaged in personnel work.

[Question] An indication of the operational form and the activity wanted by those interested, the managers themselves, also appeared in these letters. What did the majority "vote" for?

[Answer] On the basis of the opinions that we received, it would appear that small groups consisting of 15 to 20 members with the participants meeting regularly and voluntarily appear to be the most advisable. It is basic that the acquisition of new information and the recognition of specific task solution methods extending to the whole of managerial work should take place in the club-type activities.

[Question] What do the managers of the OVK [National Training Center] expect from the establishment of the quality circles?

[Answer] One of our goals is continuation training: to establish systematic and continuous ties with our former students and give professional support to their everyday work. They will receive directly in "ready-to-use form" the most recent managerial knowledge. We will not teach the managers here, rather they will learn by following the thought processes and the task solutions of their colleagues, and they themselves will undertake to work out new types of solutions. The discussion leader will be a moderator at most. In addition to club-type continuation training for managers, however, the OVK also has another related task. The Science Policy Committee operating by the government has designated the institute as the national research coordinator for the development of modern enterprise organization leadership forms. Among other things, this work means independent research, introducing modern methods used elsewhere, and gathering experiences. The network of quality circles will also be useful for circulating information of the research results.

[Question] In addition to acquiring new knowledge and methods, what else can the participants in quality circles receive?

[Answer] This informal organizational form will provide an opportunity for the creative and innovative capacities latent in the managers to be brought to the surface, precisely by virtue of its voluntary nature. Besides this, business partners, prospective parties, individual managers with a similar way of thinking and outlook can come together, and economic associations can also be outlined. I should note that these preoccupations are completely open, it cannot be an excluding factor even if an interested person were not a one-time student at the OVK.

#### A Start at Four Places

[Question] This has gone far beyond the original and usual meaning of quality . . . .

[Answer] Yes, but I think it is worthwhile to approach the concept from other points of view as well. Earlier, for example, quality management was brought up mainly in regard to production processes, although the quality of a product is not developed exclusively in the production area. It is hardly necessary to detail the influence of market research on correctly assessing buyer demands or of operation installation and service work on product quality, that is, an operation according to requirements. The quality of managerial work belongs in this list as it exercises a direct influence on the complete process of



creating a product, services, or other outputs. Therefore, we must interpret the concept in relation with all those qualities on which the development of product qualities depend.

The goal of establishing managerial quality circles--as is evident from the foregoing--cannot be isolated from the basic goals of Hungarian managerial training, including of course the tasks of the OVK. That is to say, it is necessary to adjust to the further development of the economic guidance system, recognizing the fact that under the altered economic conditions enterprises cannot be managed in the old way. New methods, however, are necessary for a new kind of leadership--that is, for the development of a socialist type of manager.

In February there will be several experimental, club-type gatherings. Timely leadership management questions will be discussed with the participation of experts and politicians versed in the subject. According to plans, programs will be held in spring at four places--Miskolc, Szeged, Veszprem and Budapest as anticipated--the subjects of which will be represented by the economic management leadership tasks designated in the April resolution of the Central Committee, including the new enterprise leadership forms. With these events the preliminaries will be completed and the managerial quality circles will begin to function.

6691

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HUNGARY

'SECOND SOCIETY' PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN HUNGARIAN LIFE

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian Nov 84 pp 2-17

[Study by Elemer Hankiss, senior research fellow of the Institute for Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Science; appeared in "Review of Hungarian Periodicals" No 2 of the British Embassy, Budapest]

[Text] The peculiar duality which I wish to discuss is a natural concomitant of social development or--as I shall refer to it later on--of the change of patterns. It can, however, lead to division and dissension that disturb social coexistence and impede social development. So it appears to be necessary to take a close look at it all the more so as despite the frequent references to it it has been so far given little attention by sociological research. Some aspects of the phenomenon have been brilliantly analyzed after Max Weber, but a comprehensive examination of the whole range of phenomena is still to come. This study represents a few steps in that direction, analyzing the phenomena through the example of a single society, today's Hungarian society. The conclusions will, therefore, be obviously of limited validity both in space and time. Many societies of various types will have to be subjected to an investigation before real understanding can be attained. Why I have started with Hungarian society when several past and present societies may be better suited for such an analysis? The answer is simple: It is this society that I know best and the fortunes of this society are of the greatest interest to me.

I shall in this study call the two extreme poles of the above-mentioned social division "first society" and "second society" and I shall commence my analysis by asking whether this pair of concepts is of any use at all? Whether it can throw light on relationships that have been left obscure by the existing system of concepts? Should the answer be "yes," it will be worth our while to define them precisely and use them in the analysis of various phenomena.

Let us make an experiment. Let us assume that there is a level, or dimension, of social existence that can be usefully separated as a "second society" from the general concept of society; or at least let us assume that the clarity of our system of concepts will increase, if we use instead of the concept of undivided society a pair of concepts, that of "first" and "second" societies. It is unlikely that a precise definition can be

achieved at the first attempt since the definition of the second economy has also taken long years and hard work.

The phrase "second society" has been naturally suggested by an analogy with the second economy. Let us first see whether such an analogy is justified or not.

#### Analogy With the Second Economy

Debates on the definition and description of the second economy have been going on in this country for about 10 years. In a recent study Istvan R. Gabor has presented a whole list of definitions from which--in a simplified form--the following criteria of the second economy can be deduced. (The function, and nature, of the second economies developed in the Western European societies are so different from those of ours that they cannot be included in this analysis.)

A sphere of economic activities not planned and organized by the state.

The sum total of economic activities outside the public and enterprise sectors or only integrated into them to a certain extent; on the continuum from integration to autonomy lying closer to the latter pole.

Not linked to the dominant form of ownership, i.e., to state ownership.

Not linked to the dominant form of management (large enterprise).

A non-dominant activity of the national economy of a complementary and auxiliary character.

Not or only partially affected by the hierarchy that is determinant in the first economy.

Not or only partially affected by the formal system of regulations that determine the first economy; an "informal" economy.

Economic activities not or only imperfectly controllable by the conventional means of economic direction.

The sum total of economic activities producing incomes that are invisible, not or imperfectly registered socially and not declared.

On the continuum from political-ideological acceptance (legitimacy) to rejection (illegitimacy) lying closer to the latter pole. It is inconsistently regulated, its ideological and political judgment is ambivalent and its treatment varies.

A closer look at the above criteria reveals that they divide into two major groups. There are substantive and structural criteria, e.g., not big-enterprise management, not state ownership, not hierarchic, etc. And there are criteria of relationship which show how state power reacts to the second

economy, e.g., the extent of state control, the extent of integration into the state sector, the measure of "viability" and legitimacy.

Most of those criteria will play an important part also in defining the second society. Nevertheless, the definition of the second society does not promise to be an easy task because its outlines are not so distinct as those of the second economy.

### The Two Patterns

Every social formation has its fundamental principles of organization and its basic structures, in one word it has its own pattern. All that fits into this pattern, that is determined by those structures and have been called into existence, and regulated, by those principles of organization, can be regarded as belonging to the first society. On the other hand all (or many) things that do not fit into that pattern are to be regarded as belonging to the second society. The task appears to be simple. One describes the pattern of the first society and what does not fit into that pattern is to be regarded as the second society. However, the work is complicated for it involves solving a number of problems.

The pattern of the second society is immature, imperfect and not clearly distinct from the first pattern. Admittedly, there have been completely unequivocal cases. Take, for instance, a British colony in Africa in the last century. There was an official society embodying the British pattern with its English language administration, English legal system, school system and public. But there continued to operate another pattern on the tribal-village level degenerated to a second society. Not quite so pregnant but equally relevant is the case of some minorities. E.g., the Romanian and Slovak minorities in the second half of the 19th century and the Hungarian ethnic minorities after 1920. Marx called attention to certain structures of bourgeois society which took shape in the late feudal societies, i.e., to use the terminology of this study within the dominant pattern of late feudal society there began to take shape another pattern which--at least until the triumphant revolutions--organized and regulated its existence on the level of a second society.

The first pattern is not stable but changing. Most of the societies of the present age, and Hungarian society particularly, have undergone great changes in the past 40 years. In this country after the acute changes in 1945 and from 1948 to 1949 even the dominant pattern of society continued to change. So phenomena have to be measured against this changing pattern in order to decide whether they belong to the first or the second society.

The ideal and the practical patterns are not identical. In Hungary it is difficult what to regard as the pattern; the ideal image that the leading stratum of society projects as the goal to be achieved, or as a state of affairs already attained, or the actual structures of social practice as they have developed. However, part of the actual pattern are phenomena that do not fit into the social model as described by the ideology, such as the system of personal dependence, corruption, local bullies, etc. So

it is difficult to decide whether those have their roots in the very essence of the system or just the opposite they are its offshoots and excrescences tending to belong rather to the second society. This problem has been encountered also by students of the second economy who have solved it--admitting the need for further study--by talking of a second economy in the broad sense of the term which includes such phenomena existing within the first economy but not consistent with the socialist model and of a second economy in the strict sense of the term which excludes such phenomena.

It is hard to find an absolutely good solution. In this study I shall regard as belonging to the first society all that has been actually realized of the model of society defined ideologically. I shall not regard as belonging to the first society what has not been realized of the model (e.g., democracy and broad popular representation) nor what does exist and operate (corruption, cliques, lobbies, etc.) but does not fit into the model. I shall do so fully aware of the fact that even this way the first society and the second one cannot be sharply separated from each other because over the years the position, and the strategy, of the party have changed in many respects and those changes have been sanctioned at least partly in party documents. It cannot be determined definitely, however, to what extent all this means also a change of the ideology and its further development. So it appears to be reasonable to consider in general the ideological superstructure developed in the forties and fifties as a point of reference.

#### The Criteria

The second society in Hungary from 1948 to 1984 is of a looser texture, less clearly defined and more changeable than the second societies of other times mentioned earlier on. Its existence and nature are harder to grasp, and so we need a precise and exact device, if we want to survey it.

We have stated earlier on that those phenomena shall be regarded as belonging to the second society which do not fit into the dominant pattern of a country. So first and foremost it shall be necessary to describe as precisely as possible the pattern of the "official" Hungarian society after 1948 and then compare it with the other pattern which organizes, regulates and typifies human activity and life on the level of the second society. We shall take the principal features of the two patterns point by point and compare them with each other.

#### 1. The Criterion of Homogeneity v. Differentiation/Integration

First Society: Homogeneity, Diffuseness, Atomization

Second Society: Differentiation and Integration

Between the two wars Hungary was a country politically and culturally strongly divided and economically moderately divided. The obsolete and rigid structures of an early capitalist system long surpassed in the western half of Europe were upheld by politically and culturally rigid feudal and class barriers. Also in the economy many pre-capitalist and early capitalist features survived and it lagged far behind the Western European economies. This was generally speaking the state of affairs when in 1948 the Communist

Party launched its sweeping program of modernization. In a few year's--if not a few month's--time it destroyed the internal structures of the previous society and liquidated almost its entire system of institutions, replacing it with a new institutional system which prevented, or at least obstructed, the re-articulation of society. It was thought that the ideal that was to be the goal could be sooner attained and the political power more easily consolidated, if society was standardized and kept at least provisionally in a diffuse state. As for the economy, a radical program of modernization was announced which at the time was understood to mean a rapid and extensive industrialization. This started, at least in the industry, a kind of differentiation and the development of more advanced forms of the division of labor. However, even this process was impeded by the emergence of giant enterprises on the one hand and the liquidation, and/or decline, of medium and small plants which offered a wide variety of forms of the division of labor. The process of differentiation was obstructed also by the rigorous central control which permeated and homogenized the entire economy.

There are people who regard this as a process of integration and the decisive phase of the process of modernization. I think they are wrong. For the homogenization of society, keeping it in a diffuse state and its atomization cannot be considered integration. For integration does not mean putting an end to differences rather some kind of joining together of different constituent parts. That is why specialist literature on social development in general and modernization in particular uses in most cases the concept of integration together with that of differentiation. (Spencer, Durkheim)

In our case the first society and to a lesser extent the first economy are characterized by homogenization, a lack of internal articulation and a diffuse state. On the other hand, all that helps in the above sense differentiation-integration can be regarded--I think--as belonging to the second economy; all that embodies attempts at the differentiation, and organic integration, e.g., of economic, social and political functions, the legislative, executive and judicial functions, the various social strata and groups representing differing interests, the various views and world views and so forth.

## 2. The Criterion of Vertical v. Horizontal Organization

First Economy: Vertical Organization

Second Economy: Horizontal Organization

Since 1948 (but to a lesser extent even earlier) a vertical organization, the predominance of hierarchic relationships of subordination and superordination, have been typical of Hungarian society. Interest relations are vertically organized; power has been organized in a strictly hierarchic order and information as well as wealth has flown along vertical lines; the workers of two workshops can coordinate their interests only through the management; two enterprises can settle differences only through the mediation of sectoral central agencies, two neighboring towns only through the county authorities and two neighboring counties only through the mediation of the government or the national party leadership. This verticalness is so much

essential to the first society or has been and still is considered so on all levels and at every post of leadership that the reaction to any kind of horizontal organization, to any attempt at the association of people, or groups of people, on the same level was immediate countermeasure in the fifties and in most cases suspicion in the seventies.

The leadership has had two instruments against the spontaneous attempts at horizontal organization. One is prohibition and the other the so-called institutionalization, i.e., the incorporation of the emerging horizontal relationships into the vertical structure which has led in the majority of cases to a decline of such relationships.

Nevertheless, horizontal links have emerged, and keep emerging, again and again; horizontal relationships that cannot be fitted into the vertical patterns continue to take shape.

### 3. The Criterion of Descendence v. Ascendence

First Society: Downward Flow

Second Society: Upward Flow

This pair of concepts is not really apt and self-explanatory but for the time being I have not found anything better. Descendence means that power flows predominantly downward. The decisions made and the measures taken at the top of the hierarchy determine and regulate life, spreading downward to lower and lower levels. The contrast is, or should be, a pattern in which power accumulates flowing upward from below, in which all levels of leadership receive their power and authority from below. Naturally, power thus accumulated will begin to act and operate also downward, but ideally under the constant supervision of the lower levels so that their mandate can be withdrawn; consequently, in this pattern the upward flow of power is to be regarded as the dominant principle of the organism.

### 4. The Criterion of Nationalization v. Non-Nationalization

First Society: Almost Complete Nationalization and Centralization

Second Society: Lack of Nationalization and a State of Decentralization

This criterion is kindred to but not identical with the former two criteria for the vertical organization, and the descendent nature, of society and power can be of a very high degree also in a South American or East Asian capitalist society. In our case complete nationalization means--at least as far as the original intention is concerned and in the fifties also in fact--that the whole of the economy is planned, organized and controlled by a single center. However, in the fifties the whole of social life was permeated by the same intention. Social organizations were nationalized; associations and societies were liquidated or strictly subordinated to government offices; all economic, political and social initiative was the reserve of the party apparatus; an attempt was made to regulate and uniformly control people's lives through the control of the labor market, housing and commodity supplies; an attempt was made to control and direct the minds of people through a monopoly of ideology; and so forth.

This severity was greatly relaxed in the sixties and the seventies, but the intention to control the main aspects of life has continued to this day and has driven into the second society many phenomena which are present in more pluralistic societies as parts of the first society. That is why second societies exist in West European societies to a much lesser extent. (In the United States, e.g., one could raise the issue of second societies, e.g., in connection with black ghettos, the Puerto Rican and Mexican ethnic groups or even behind-the-scenes business.) This is so because being more flexible these societies can incorporate phenomena originally not fitting into the dominant pattern much quicker than we can do; e.g., unparliamentary movements.

I should like to point out at this juncture that in the East European societies state control means actually party control, the control of the state machine and society by the party. In those states there is no neutral state machine in the sense Max Weber wrote about it, but there is a party which has a sense of historic mission which extends its control to all areas of life. As against the second society the most essential characteristic of the first society is that in it party control is asserted practically fully. The party's authority, however, does not extend to the second society or at least not to the same extent. There are areas, e.g., the second economy, whose boundaries are determined, or accepted, by the party, but within that framework the party's influence is relatively little.

##### 5. The Criterion of Ideology v. No Ideology

First Society: Strongly Ideological

Second Society: The Non-Ideological Sphere and the Sphere of Counter-ideologies

In the East European socialist societies it is not the economy that takes precedence, but the spheres of ideology and politics. The chronic "belatedness" of East Europe induced the communist parties which had taken over the direction in these parts to work out programs of accelerated modernization and later of excessively accelerated modernization programs, i.e., programs which did not rely for development on spontaneous economic and social forces and movements for those--as it was claimed--were accidental and anarchic, they did not always work for progress and so did not ensure rapid development in the right direction. The party was sincerely convinced that it had in its hand the key to the situation; that it knew the model of the society of the future, which it was necessary, possible and worthwhile to achieve; that it had the knowledge and the means, with which this model of society could be realized. But the condition of success was the subjection of the economic and social spheres to party control. This subjection was helped by the strongly hierarchic and centralized nature of the institutional system mentioned earlier on and was further strengthened by the permeation of all aspects of life by ideology. The latter was needed because the spontaneous forces of the spheres of the economy and society mentioned above would not have moved automatically toward the desired model of society and so in opposition to them the rightness of the conception of the party had to be proved all the time and the leading role of the party had to be legitimated. On the other hand it was necessary to discredit--as erroneous, conservative or reactionary--every other ideology, faith or world view.



In the fifties this ideological monopoly was consistent and peremptory also in this country. It persecuted, or tolerated, any other conception of the world as remnants of the past. In the sixties and seventies the severity was relaxed and the monopoly softened into hegemony, i.e., it saw itself no longer as the sole possible view of the world only as the dominant one and it was accepted that different conceptions of the world had wide currency in society. Those different world views as they do not arise from the dominant pattern and do not support it and as their legitimacy has remained uncertain to this day--belong to the sphere of the second society. Just as the spheres of social existence which have not been fully permeated by the dominant ideology are relegated to the second society.

After the substantive criteria let us now take a look at two criteria of relationship, i.e., how the relationship of central power to the second society determines the latter.

#### 6. The Criterion of Acceptance v. Non-Acceptance

First Society: Legitimate, Ideologically and Politically Accepted Sphere  
Second Economy: Illegitimate or Uncertainly Legitimized Sphere

The place of the second society can be determined in the dimension of legitimacy and illegitimacy rather than in that of legality and illegality. The meaning of this difference can be understood, if one takes a look at the relationship between the central direction and the second society.

What can the first society, or more precisely the central direction, do with the second society? As we have seen it can ignore it for some time, but that is a highly dangerous game. There are, however, also other alternatives. E.g., it can in due course incorporate into its own system certain phenomena of the second society or--as it has done with the second economy--it can fit into the first society the second society as a neutral province with relative autonomy (incessantly limited and neutralized politically and ideologically). If this should not be practicable or desirable, the phenomenon of the second society that can no longer be ignored have to be neutralized that is "put in their proper place" by other means. Such means are, e.g., branding such phenomena as deviant, i.e., a counterpole that has to be cured as a symptom of disease or as contrary to the law that has to be punished and as such the phenomena can be taken notice of and incorporated in the first society, they can be reflected by the first public and treated by the central direction.

The trouble is, however, that the second society has some phenomena and areas that can be regarded less and less as deviant and can be less and less stigmatized as such with the passage of the years. They float somewhere between the spheres of legality and illegality or they belong wholly to the legal sphere and only their legitimacy is problematic.

For there is a great difference between the two ideas. Legal is lawful; everything that does not offend against the laws of the country is legal. Legitimacy on the other hand means--at least in our domestic practice--ideological and political acceptance. There are many things that do not

offend the law and yet the ideological and political practice is unable to accept them or at least uncertain whether they can be accepted or not. This uncertain and ambivalent status is one of the most distinctive marks of the second society.

The above have been the criteria which appear to be useful for distinguishing between the two kinds of society. All I should like to note is that one or the other activity may be assigned to the second society even though it does not fulfill all the criteria. The problem is that it is not always possible to determine how many criteria need to be fulfilled.

#### The Relationship Between the Second Society and "Civic Society"

Before surveying some areas of the second society we shall have to draw the line between it and a kindred concept, "civic society." In the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries it meant the institutions, and transactions, of the bourgeoisie as a separate but to some extent integrated body in the late feudal absolutistic society. Eventually it became the first society which included first only the organizations and transactions of the haute bourgeoisie and later the middle and lower strata of the bourgeoisie.

In the East European societies including Hungary where--upholding and intensifying centuries-old traditions--after 1948 state power became hypertrophied and the area of society not determined by state power shrank--civic society was almost completely destroyed and some of its elements were relegated to the sphere of the second society. Later in the early sixties very slowly there began a regeneration of civic society and some of its elements rose to the surface. Those emerging elements were immediately penetrated and institutionalized by state power which narrowed down their autonomy to a minimum. So in a Western sense there is no civil society in the East European countries. Nevertheless, there exists a peculiar formation between the spheres of private life and state power, in which certain movements, aspirations, contracts and interactions have some, although accidental, fragile and at any time reversible, temporary autonomy. This autonomy is the most extensive in the second economy, but some aspirations, organizations, aspirations, trends and intentions that arise in the fields of social and cultural life also have a certain amount of freedom of movement and relative autonomy.

That second society and civil society are not identical is shown also by the fact that--as it has been demonstrated--the dividing line between the first society and the second society does not run between the state power and society. For on the one hand there are spheres of the state power, of officialdom, which "jut out" far into the second society and on the other hand most of the events and transactions of social existence take place in the second society which is closer to the first, official and nationalized society than to the civic society.

#### The Areas of the Second Society

Surveying the second society is a hard task. First because it is concealed and the first public and the second public taken together reflect only parts

of it. Secondly, because it is in constant motion and transformation, not being bound by formal rules like the first society. Thirdly, because its structures and events are ramified and it will take many people a long time to obtain even a rough picture of it.

Research into this field has been going on for some time. The beginning was made in the sixties with the emergence of the concept of "everyday life" and then the sociological investigations into strata losing touch with the majority of society and workers' strategy within industrial units. Many analyses were made relevant to the matter in hand by politologists. The subject was pioneered by Andras Hegedus and from another angle of attack by Peter Schmidt, Miklos Szabo and Mihaly Bihari. Csaba Gombar set out to explore the social groups and strata existing in "political anonymity" and below the "political level" in the early seventies. Dela Pokol has been researching for years into the mechanisms of the assertion of interests and has shown that a considerable part of such mechanisms operate concealed and "driven below the level of social publicity." The clashes of opinions between ministries take place mostly using "technical arguments" and social interests clash concealed by them; disguised political groupings and platforms come into existence. The same issues have been examined by Laszlo Bruszt in an international context. Gyorgy Bencze has been investigating the world of societies, circles, associations and foundations not, or only partially, perceived and tolerated by the first society. Pal Juhasz is inquiring into the network of informal and non-hierarchic associations in agriculture. In a recent book Laszlo Bogar has written about the "immune reaction" which was the response of society "usually in a concealed form" to the ruthless interventions of the political and economic power in the forties and the fifties. The book keeps referring to a "concealed sphere" of social actions and transaction. "In this hidden dimension declared to be not existing"... "groups try to camouflage their interests"... "it is the common concern of a very numerous group of people that those spheres shall not come under social supervision"; and so forth. Many people have approached from many angles the hidden dimension of society which this study attempts to define as the second society. Unfortunately, a considerable number of the papers dealing with these subjects exist themselves in the second society, in the sphere of the second public, i.e., in the form of manuscripts or manuscript-type internal publications.

In all areas of society in the broad sense of the word a second hidden area may take shape. So there may emerge a duplication of the economy, of the mechanisms of society in the narrow sense of the word, of public life, culture and social consciousness. There is an extensive literature on the second economy which I shall complement only by a few remarks. Of the second public several mentions have been made earlier on. I shall refer only briefly also to the existence of a second culture. I shall discuss in detail, however, the mechanisms of the second society and some elements of the second consciousness.

## The Second Economy

In the fifties and sixties the second economy belonged unequivocally to the second society. Most of its manifestations were banned, persecuted and branded as unlawful. Although later it was increasingly admitted into the legal sphere, its ideological and political acceptance has remained uncertain to this day. Today it is an indispensable part of the economic system and so it is willy-nilly accepted by the political practice. At the same time it is a relatively clear and significant example of the counter-pattern which is why fitting it into the socialist model of society is an intricate task that is still outstanding. Its status is ambivalent: through its legality and political acceptance it is part of the first society; however, its pattern that differs from that of the first society and the lack of its ideological acceptance relegate it to the second society.

### The Second Society (in the narrow sense)

#### 1. The Duplication of the Social Contract

In this context I mean by social contract simply the fact that for a lasting coexistence of people it is necessary for rules of give-and-take to develop in the first society. Everybody has to know what reward he can expect for what performance and what reaction his various attitudes will produce. The lack of such a set of rules will leave people in constant uncertainty and frustration. This does not mean, however, that such a social contract can penetrate and regulate all areas of life. It often occurs in various types of societies that alongside with or below the approved social contract there emerges another set of rules, in fact a second social contract, which will regulate human activities in certain areas of life in a way different from, or even opposed to, that of the first social contract.

#### 2. The Grey Social Contract

One of the typical examples of such a second social contract is corruption. It can be described as a "grey social contract" because it comes into existence under the surface of the legally and morally sanctioned "white" social contract, i.e., under the surface of the first society. Furthermore, it can be described as a "contract" because--just like the white social contract--it is based on tacit agreement or forced acceptance and it regulates effectively give-and-take between people. In this case the grey social contract is simply a set of rules registering a change, or distortion, of the terms of give-and-take laid down in the contract operating on the surface. Such distortions permeate the everyday life of many societies, including the Hungarian society. And if one considers that in point of fact corruption is selling positions of power and buying them, it becomes obvious how much it is a social phenomenon and not only a constituent element of the second economy.

There is another kind of a grey social contract discernible in most societies which is more dangerous than corruption and is closely intertwined with it. That is the old-boy network which is also the link between the

first society and the second one. For it is closely interwoven with the hierarchic structure of the first society, but it extends to, and permeates, also the system of horizontal relationships of the second society. This hidden or half hidden vertical and horizontal system of relationships is in many cases as important, if not more important, in the regulation of human activities and coexistence than the formal rules and the "white" social contract of the first society.

### 3. The Negative Social Contract

A social contract works effectively, if everybody does well abiding by collectively accepted rules. It may happen, however, that things are turned upside down and everybody does well disobeying the rules. There emerges a negative social contract which is one of the important principles in the second society. This is an anecdote which exemplifies the working of this mechanism.

The canteen in a factory is not licensed to sell alcoholic drinks. Nevertheless, the woman operating the canteen sells such drinks to the employees secretly, but tells the manager the names of her customers... In return for such information the manager tacitly permits her to sell alcoholic drinks in the canteen.

This is a very good example of the negative social contract because everybody profits from disregarding the rule. Behind those individual profits one can perceive the damage to the community. It is unprofitable for the community, if people drink during work hours, make illegal and untaxed profits and are exposed to blackmail by bullies. There are, however, cases in which the operation of negative contracts yields, or may yield, profit to the community, at least within certain limits.

The immutability of the social contract is not in the interest of the whole society in all cases. The social efforts aimed at bringing about changes can be an important prime mover of development. There are times and situations in the history of a country when the system of economic, social and political institutions becomes so rigid that it obstructs, or even renders impossible, the normal course of life. In such cases it can be useful to society, if a new set of rules develops--first under the surface in the sphere of the second society--a kind of negative social contract which resists the pressure of the old set of norms and operates more or less independently from them. The societies that are able later to incorporate such a practice in the first society and into the white social contract can call themselves extremely lucky. This is clearly exemplified by what has happened in recent decades to the second economy in this country.

The second economy existed particularly in the villages and to a lesser extent in the towns as far back as the fifties, but it existed underground and almost illegally. Day after day hundreds and thousands of transactions were carried out that were profitable to the small producers and also to society, but the legality of which could be queried at any time. A negative social contract was in operation. By raising most of those transactions to

the sphere of legality in the seventies the government has increased the efficiency of all those operations. This, of course, took 20 to 25 years to achieve because the leading stratum of society had to make extraordinary efforts to open the first society to a group of phenomena and to principles of operation that did not fit into the dominant pattern of the first society.

#### 4. Latent Pluralism

This concept has to be treated with great caution because, naturally, the pluralism so often mentioned in connection with West European societies, the constitutionally regulated clash between, and interplay of, political and social interests and a great variety of institutions and ideologies, is out of the question in our case. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that in the past two or three decades there began the latent pluralization of Hungarian society. That means that some big interest groups "lobbies" have taken increasingly firm shape: the agricultural lobby, the heavy industry lobby, the reformist lobby, the conservative lobby, the trade union lobby, the youth lobby, many county and regional lobbies, some sectoral lobbies, etc.-- and the struggle between those lobbies has become a factor of decisive importance in the political game played for power. Bela Pokol has explored this process in the greatest detail so far. (I use the word "lobby" without any negative overtone.)

A part of our society believes that in this country the political model which developed at the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties is still operating. In other words, they believe that a small political elite makes all the decisions and all that society does is obeying. Undoubtedly, our system of political and social institutions has hardly changed in the past three decades. However, our political and social practice has changed substantially. Economic and social processes are nowadays determined to a significant extent by the struggle between the interest groups mentioned above and the central authorities are no longer giving orders but what they are expected and can do is on the one hand to reconcile the warring interest groups and to induce them to come to terms on the other. I have called this practice latent pluralism because all the clashes of interests and the attempts at reconciliation take place behind the scenes, in the sphere of the second society.

There are students of the question who are of the opinion that it is wrong to talk about pluralism in general rather one should talk about "apparatus pluralism" because such struggles are fought only within the apparatus, what is more in its higher echelons. However, even "apparatus pluralism" does not mean that only interest groups within the apparatus clash with each other. One or the other institution, or leader, of the apparatus often support true social interests, fights for actual social interests. And although such activities are linked to the vertical hierarchy of the first society through the very persons concerned (the leaders' task is after all the "institutional neutralization") the struggle between opposed interest groups nevertheless takes place mainly in the horizontal dimension, i.e., in the second society.

Latent pluralism has existed in this horizontal dimension, but indeed within the apparatus--between the agrarians and the conservatives, the struggle over the organization of collective farms in 1959 and then in the sixties between the agrarian lobby and the industrial lobby, the struggle which eventually started the modernization in the good sense of agriculture. Struggles of a similar nature have been going on for decades over economic policy in general between various groups of reformists and the camp of those who are against reforms or want to moderate them; although those struggles are linked by a thousand ties to the structures of the first society (most of the reform projects have been commissioned by the state) they extend deep into the concealed regions of the second society. From time to time a party resolution or a government decree draws the line between phenomena already admissible to the first society and those not yet admissible. Also the struggle between counties, towns and villages for obtaining a larger chunk of the central resources takes place to a considerable extent in the sphere of the second economy because it cuts through the centralized hierarchic structures, is not, or only slightly, permeated by the official ideology and is not or only accidentally reflected by the first public. But concealed pluralism extends even wider.

Pluralism in the original sense of the word means that the various interest groups in society have constitutional rights of, and actual opportunities for, the assertion of their interests; or to put it differently, it means that the large interest groups of society have the right and the opportunity to participate in determining, and controlling, the government of the country. There is, however, a lower, nevertheless important, level of pluralism. It is not the pluralism of participating democratically in the exercise of power, but the pluralism of opportunities for influencing power. In terms of politology influence means that, if a stratum, or group, of society has no opportunity for participation in decisionmaking and in supervising the implementation of decisions, nevertheless it has some opportunity for asserting its interests by influencing the decisions. They have this opportunity because they possess resources or goods which are needed by society as a whole and by the ruling elite which cannot be mobilized or are not worth mobilizing with open violence or can be so mobilized only at a great loss. Such resources are, for instance, labor, readiness to produce or even to cooperate or just to keep quiet. Those latent and often not quite conscious strategies of influencing play an important part in shaping events in Hungary just as in most other countries. Despite the fact that the people concerned are often unaware of the extent of their influence, they do have power. A good example of this was the undesigned "strike" of the farmers of household plots in the mid-seventies which compelled the government to back down. What happened was that because of measures limiting the farming of household plots hundreds of thousands of families decided quite independently from each other that under the increasingly unfavorable conditions it was not worth their while to go on farming and taking their produce to the markets. Consequently, the markets in the towns were empty and the supply with foodstuffs of the urban population was in jeopardy. Since good and steady supply was one of its essential aims, the government rescinded or amended the measures in question. In other words, in this case individual decisions, in themselves insignificant, aggregated into a



political factor to be reckoned with coming from below, i.e., in keeping with the ascendent nature of the second society. But such concealed struggles take place--as shown by the research conducted by Lajos Hethy and Csaba Mako--also in the factories.

The part played by latent pluralism in the development, and democratization, of society has been analyzed by a number of people, although under a different name. I should like to point out the following.

It is certainly a good thing that the struggle between various social interests, even though mainly latent, has grown so strong that the government cannot disregard it, if it wants to be effective. It is not good, however, that the existing system of institutions does not correspond to the system of social interests. The two systems cut through each other at many points and so, of course, the effectiveness of both is diminished. They hardly help each other's operation, they rather obstruct it. The interests of local communities--as I shall demonstrate it later on--are relentlessly intersected by functional interests, by hierarchic lines of force, by the system of sectors, by the trade unions structure organized according to sectors, etc. So try as it may the second society fails to become integrated in the first society.

That leaders of institutions espouse real social interests--often social interests not even strictly within their own sphere of authority--is useful and harmful at the same time. Its use is that important social issues get settled. Its harm, however, lies in the fact that this forced attachment of social interests to the excessively hierarchic structure of the first society, to its near feudal chains of dependence, impedes in all probability the horizontal interlocking of interests and delays the process, in which social interests could mature their own new and adequate institutions.

## 5. Local Communities

Are there any local communities in Hungary at all? That is are there communities living and operating in a geographically definable space which are more or less separated by their inner movements, interactions, institutions, interests and aspirations from their environment, i.e., on the one hand from similar local communities and on the other from the whole of society? Communities that have been able to resist the strong centralizing efforts of macro-society and have been successful in developing their own horizontal structures in a defined space? Some researchers say that the villages have lost their one-time primitive independence and have not yet been able to develop their new-type self-government. One of the symptoms of this loss of independence is that in nearly 1,300 of the 3,000 Hungarian villages there is no local council, in 1,514 there is no agricultural center, in 1,500 there is no school for children over 10 and in 1,336 there is no resident doctor. Others argue that, although the institutions of local self-government do not operate, or hardly operate, there are phenomena indicating the existence, or at least efforts to exist, of local communities. One of the writers says this: "The emergence of often latent transactional processes--the almost autonomous development of settlements divergent from the officially declared



development mechanism--reveal the existence of local social processes, more precisely the existence alongside the externally controlled homogenization of settlements, of local social processes." Others only raise the question of the existence or nonexistence of local communities and wish to start a nationwide investigation to decide in which cases one can talk about local communities and on the other extreme in which cases "only about population, inhabitants, some kind of amorphous populace."

After the country's liberation an attempt was made at the development within the constitutional framework of local government, but the centralizing policy after the year of the change eliminated all possibilities and forms of self-government. The adherents of forced modernization regarded central control and hierarchically organized institutions as the preconditions of development and the stability of the new power structure to such an extent that they judged all local self-government and organization conservative, provincial, dangerous, consequently things to be liquidated.

The question of local (and not only local) self-government was put on the agenda again in the late sixties and some steps were taken in this field (e.g., the Council Act of 1971). But there was no real change for state administration, part direction, economic and cultural direction continued to be excessively centralized. As regards the two last mentioned fields--economy and culture--the slight weakening of the national centers and a corresponding growth of the strength of regional and county centers has not brought a favorable change for local communities in general. The system of redistribution has continued to operate under the terms of which 2 to 3 percent of the central revenues are reallocated to the village communities. The character of the 1-year and 5-year plans has continued to be sectoral to the extent of 80 to 90 percent. Deployment of industry and development of infrastructure have continued to be central or sectoral monopolies. The successive waves of decentralization without the expansion of the scope of self-government have not strengthened local communities rather the rule of local petty despots. The reform of national and local elections has meant so far only the first timid steps after a delay of decades--and so on. Taken together all those factors have impeded the unfolding of local self-governments and have relegated the attempts of local communities at finding their feet and getting organized to the latent sphere of the second society hardly recognized and tolerated by the first society.

## 6. Existence Beyond the Pale of Society

This idea crops up rather frequently in Hungarian sociological and politological literature. The exact meaning of the concept has been rarely defined, but that much is obvious that it applies to social strata and groups which do not fit into the dominant pattern or do so only partially; which are not, or only to a small extent permeated by the power relations and institutions of the first society; which are at the bottom of social hierarchy and so are unaffected by it; which are to such an extent disinterested in macro-social developments as to be already impervious to ideological influence; whose way of life is so different from that of the first society, i.e., from the way of life of the majority, that the latter

cannot and do not want to take note of it; which are politically "anonymous," i.e., their interests are not represented either by themselves or by others, they can be politically ignored, they do not exist politically.

### The Second Culture

This phenomenon has been widely discussed by international literature as "counter-culture," "sub-culture" or "street-corner culture," ethnic or group cultures which secretly guard, or build, their own traditions in opposition to the official culture or to cultural oppression. Also in this country the cultural policy has had a great deal of trouble with the newer and newer waves of counter-cultures such as the beat culture, folk, punk and the "new wave"; last but not least with the indifference of strata inaccessible to means of the cultural policy or more precisely amorphous and undistinctive everyday culture, or lack of culture, that is a mixture of traditional and new elements hidden behind the indifference. All this has been widely discussed in this country. Let us take now a closer look at only one area, the second hidden sphere of social consciousness.

### The Second Consciousness

At one time "double consciousness" and "split consciousness" were widely discussed. The two phrases referred to people who lived in the first society with a consciousness different from that they lived with in the second society or in their private lives. There were among them those who changed their consciousness cynically as they moved to and fro between those two or three spheres. Others were suffering from this state of split personality forced upon them. Others again sank into an indifferent apathetic state of depression and did not want, nor were able, to face the world and themselves. This apathy is in reality nothing but an alienation from the pattern of the first society, from its goals, ideals, world view, aspirations and institutions. It is a kind of "negative" second consciousness, the consciousness, or rather the lack of consciousness, of a person to whom the substance of the official social consciousness has ceased to have any meaning, but is unable to confront it with a new consciousness, with new values. There are people who believe that such a vacant and apathetic mind makes the government of the country easier; the opposite is, however, more probable. Namely, the fact that this kind of mental apathy with its dead and amorphous mass makes the country more and more ungovernable and less and less capable of development.

We know little of the second consciousness in a positive sense because it is concealed. Public opinion polls usually seize on one or the other element of the first consciousness, but there are--usually unpublished--works which have tried to bring to the surface one or the other area of the second consciousness (researches into national consciousness, political attitudes, etc.). In the absence of reliable research one has to draw conclusions from one's everyday experiences and conjectures and from items of information circulating in the second and third publics as to the world views, faiths, beliefs, conceptions, attitudes, values, rules of conduct and traditions that exist in the sphere of consciousness of the second society. As for the

more coherent world views the following, for instance, are bound to play an important part in the second social consciousness:

Religious world views  
Petit bourgeois lay humanism  
Conservative world views  
Liberal world views  
The Evolutionist-Technocratic world view  
Social democratic type of world view and social consciousness  
Popular-National view of the world and history  
Etc.

Little is known of the range, social significance, power to influence human and group attitudes of those world views and of the political attitudes they give rise to. We pretend that they do not exist, yet it is obvious that they are here among us and that should the occasion arise any of them may burst to the surface and become a force mobilizing broad masses.

There is no doubt that it is important to learn as much as possible of the second society. For whether we like it or not it has a strong effect upon the surface, i.e., upon the first society, and may have a decisive effect on the future development of society. It may help the renewal of the old pattern of society or even the emergence of a new pattern. But it could also obstruct all this by stiffening again the old pattern already in a state of change. Which of the elements of the second society that has developed in this country will help and which will impede making the country more efficient and more democratic--to answer this question is a task that demands a great deal of further analysis.

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HUNGARY

SMALL RELIGIOUS GROUPS DESCRIBED

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[Article by Jozsef Fodor: "Small Churches in Hungary"]

[Text] The history and life of small religious communities, their relation to other churches, their spread and their influence have not yet been sufficiently illuminated by Marxist religious analysis. For this reason there are many incorrect concepts about small churches. Everyday knowledge in this area is still today to a significant degree determined by folk tales, prejudices and misinformation. To many people the idea of one who belongs to a religious sect is connected with the image of an introverted, closed, fanatic, backward, superstitious, mentally retarded, deranged, unbalanced person.

The "Sect Question" in Our Country

The religious communities operating in our country have customarily been called "sects" from the sociological viewpoint--just in order to distinguish them from the "historical" churches. But this name does not discriminate them sufficiently, because we find essential differences among them in regard to their legal status. There are those that are organized according to law, that is, operating legally--their basic principles of operation are recorded in organizational by-laws approved by the state--and there are those that are not organized according to law, the legal status of which has not yet been regulated. For this reason, it is more precise to use the terminology of "small church" instead of the collective term "sect." The great majority of small churches are independent churches by their legal status, but they form two groups: those belonging to the SZET (Council of Free Churches)<sup>1</sup> and those acting independently of it but participating in the work of the SZET as observers or churches whose "status has not yet been regulated."<sup>2</sup>

Our historical experiences remind us that we need to study the spread of our ideas (and the growth of atheism as well) in such a way that we can sincerely try to cooperate with all those who, independent of their world-view, are willing and able to work with us for social progress. The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] regards it as one of its important tasks to find those common points which can be mobilized within the circle of leaders and members of the various churches in the name of devotion to social progress and which will contribute concretely to the achievement of a socialist way of life,

to combatting negative moral phenomena, and to the enrichment of solidarity and human dignity. This policy does not stem from some "modern ideological-political" consideration, but from our conviction of Marxist theory, in which connection Lenin in 1905 already expressed the opinion that "Unity in this really revolutionary struggle of the oppressed class for the creation of a paradise on earth is more important to us than unity of proletarian opinion on paradise in heaven."<sup>3</sup> On this basis, Marxist religious theory and church policy follow attentively the socio-political changes taking place among the Hungarian small churches, the great sensitivity that the small churches show toward social questions, and the intensiveness with which the leaders and members of most of the small churches participate in various social actions and local initiatives.

Without an acquaintance with the history of the free church communities it is impossible to give an adequate picture of even the last decade of Hungarian church history. Lacking an analysis of them, one cannot hope to succeed in seeking out answers to questions like: Why do some believers leave the historical churches? Why is interest in the small churches increasing? Can we expect that in the coming decade there will be more integration of the small churches?

During the past decade the small church communities have strengthened both in their numbers and in their religious activities. With the expansion of the city congregations, their influence among various intellectual groups and certain segments of the youth is also growing. The newly organized city congregations differ from rural congregations only in the social make-up of their membership. The core of their basic membership remains composed of believers who have moved from the country to the city, the "backbone" of their future growth will come from the families and relatives of their members.

In the composition of the membership by age and sex, one can note an aging process in many churches. For example, the membership of the Pentecostal communities--according to data from the church--grew by 1932 in the past 10 years; 70 percent of them are over 60 years of age, and most of them are women. There is also a counter-example: a decrease in the average age and an increase in the number of intelligentsia can be noted in the Adventist, Christian Brethren Congregation, "Late Rain," and Baptist churches. There is also a large difference in regard to the direction of movement. In recent years there has been an increase in those leaving the Baptist and Methodist churches or joining other denominations, while the membership of the Pentecostal and "Late Rain" denominations has grown.

The small churches are characterized by great dynamism and activity in their internal life. In my judgment the popularity of the free churches--especially among a small portion of the members of the Hungarian "historical" protestant churches--is fed strikingly from the fact that in certain segments of religious people there has developed a strongly personal religious life and a demand for the forms of the small religious communities. It is striking that the demand for a personal religious life and its realization are much more intensive than among the members of the "historical" protestant churches.

Almost without exception it is characteristic of all small church communities that their members are bound together primarily by bonds of the gospel and community membership and by certain ways of seeking and finding recreation. Naturally there is not even in this case political social neutrality--no matter how much the demand for solution of people's social problems remains under the cover of the religious communities. In every age, a group and its members are determined fundamentally by political and social viewpoints, and this in the end determines their attitudes, in a positive or negative direction.

### History of the Small Churches

The 14th through 16th centuries in Europe were the period of the break-up of feudalism and the formation of capitalism. One of the characteristics of this period is the strong appearance in religious garb of antifeudal, peasant, plebeian, heretical movements. The reforming trends, arising independently of one another, protested peacefully at first against teachings of the Roman church and indirectly against feudal relationships. In the 15th century the people's reformation in Germany led by Thomas Munzer became the most radical movement. He called his believers to war against the emperor, the pope, the princes and the usurers. He set as a goal the achievement of a "millennial realm," in which there would be no private property and people would live with all their goods in common. They would establish the "kingdom of God" on earth. This political and social activity in Thuringia in 1524, for example, went all the way to open armed war against oppression by the landowners.

Simultaneously with the other trends in the Reformation, and in numbers not less than the others but theologically heterogeneous, the Anabaptists (rebaptizers) appeared in their first historical form, which is characteristic of many of the small churches in our country today. Beginning in the 17th century, it has been the political and social doctrine of the Anabaptist movement that Christ's kingdom should not be established through weapons, but by peaceful means and the preaching of pure morality.

The beginnings of the history of small churches in Hungary reach back to the middle of the 19th century. The disillusionment that followed the failure of the revolution of 1848-49 and above all the pro-court and counter-revolutionary politics of much of the Catholic hierarchy, led some of the believers away from the historical churches. At this time the first free-church Baptist and Nazarene communities started their organization and missionary activity. The persecutions by churches and governments that started immediately and became more and more frequent against the leaders of the small churches and their members only strengthened the missionary work, and especially "among the agrarian proletariat and small farmers in the Alföld region in the second half of the 19th century certain smaller religious denominations and sects (Nazarene Believers in Christ, Baptists) spread rapidly."<sup>4</sup> They protested en masse against the persecutions, but they found no protection. Their petitions were rejected because of their disadvantageous situation and because of prejudice. In this contradictory situation, law number LIV of 1895 concerning free exercise of religion represented a certain solution--which was naturally only an apparent solution.

"Religious distress," wrote Marx, "is at the same time the expression of real distress and also the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people. To abolish religion as the illusory happiness of the people is to demand their real happiness."<sup>5</sup> The classics of Marxism recognized the dual social function of class-society religions, which on the one hand strive to maintain existing social relations and on the other hand express a certain protest against existing social relations. Consequently, when they "shift to the next world" the solution of real contradictions that appear in society, they at the same time encourage action to change the situation. Because of the mutual influence and continual movement between these two elements, in any concrete historical situation one or the other may predominate.

The small church communities, whose leaders and members do missionary work while pursuing their own vocations, come into contact increasingly with simple people--mainly peasant masses and certain segments of workers--and their demand for recreation.<sup>6</sup> One of the most significant traits of the sects is strict discipline. They not only require faith from their members, they also demand moral commitment. They take their gatherings and church services very seriously, and they require their members to be active and to bear witness. They abstain from harmful habits, requirements for a modest life style and morality in family life are common. The members keep a friendly, direct, personal relationship with their preachers and ministers, and this also insures homogeneity in the community and observance of the moral requirements.

The first decades of the 20th century--especially the First World War and the period of revolution--brought a new era also in the history of Hungarian small churches. As a result of loss of membership on the part of the historical churches allied with the ruling classes, some of the believers turned towards the small church communities. This beginning of a new era was characterized by a considerable break-down of the peasant churches and, on the other hand, by new features in religious life. During the period between the two world wars, there appear one after another directives from the Interior Ministry that introduced more and more forceful regulations to suppress sect activity.

The small communities too survived this historical period--which only formally guaranteed or else restricted religious freedom--until the liberation. In the nation's exceptionally severe socio-economic situation, there arose among members of the small communities the hope and desire that they would find a place in building the nation under the changed social conditions. They felt it important, on account of their faith, to participate in the work of rebuilding, clearing away the ruins, and helping wherever need appeared. After the liberation, the legal status of the free churches was also regularized. Along with the changed situation in public law, the opinion of the "historical churches" also changed, as is well demonstrated by the "declaration of repentance" issued by the June 1946 session of the National Reformed Free Council in Nyiregyhaza. Already in September 1945 the official publication of the Baptist church, LELKI ÉLET [Spiritual Life], writes: "The present and the future confront everyone with great demands. There is a need for people (men and women, old and young) who are honest, self-sacrificing, willing to serve,

charitable, warm-hearted, unselfish. A more beautiful world must be built upon the ruins. . . . After the tempest of war, the moral principle that we are zealous and that we have struggled and are struggling for 'free state--free church,' will be stressed equally from the pulpits and in the newspapers, and this is not contradictory to the achievement of democratic ideals and human rights now."

The great social programs encountered in the small communities a mass of people with interests and desires, who were hoping for a change in their social and political situation and a guarantee from the new social order of expression of their faith.

Law number XXXII of 1947 evoked an especially positive opinion from the majority of small-church leaders. According to it, "there is no difference between the various religious denominations in regard to their relationship with the state," i.e. that in our country the discrimination between formerly "recognized" and "unrecognized" denominations was finally ended. "Thanks be to God," declared the Council of Free Churches in this connection, "it has already happened that when protestants appear before the authorities it might be a representative of the Reformed, Evangelical or free churches that represent them. We thank God that we, evangelical Christians, have a good reputation before the government. We are respected, but they watch us carefully. They expect obedience from us, but they are fully aware that we are to be taken completely separately. Today's government, not just in Hungary but also in neighboring countries, does not think in terms of small denominations but in terms of unity. According to them there are Catholics, Protestants, and free-church members. Each with its own representatives and with the demand that each keep order in its own house. The basic principle of the government in religious matters is the concept of unity."<sup>8</sup>

Since these free churches had repeatedly announced their willingness to cooperate with the state politically and since they did not have significant wealth, they did not sign a formal agreement with the state, but the agreements signed with the Reformed Church (7 Oct 1948) and with the Evangelical Church (14 Dec 1948) also represented recognition of the free churches and regulation of their legal status.

Since then the relationships between the free churches and the state have been characterized by regular and correct connections. The policy that in the relationship between believers and non-believers social content is regarded as primary has brought about considerable social activity and dialogues with the small churches as well. They admit that service in the cause of peace and progress is their natural human duty and is not in conflict with their faith, thus they are able to mobilize people of various convictions to joint action. Cooperation with the various communities in many areas shows considerable activity, which is also verified by the activity of the Council of Free Churches. This conviction and willingness to cooperate marks a new "era" since the 1960's. An "era of regulation" came into being, which was replaced at the end of the 1970's by an "era of dialogue."



The rise of small churches in Hungary is described by some as mostly "a sickness imported from abroad," or a product of backwardness, etc,<sup>9</sup> and the main lines of the struggle against it in administrative regulations have been marked by denial or circumventing historically and social reality. Marxist analysis of their history, teachings and organizational life shows unambiguously that the existence of small churches is basically determined by social, political and economic conditions of the time--even though their origin was aided by foreign missions--and their changes are rooted in concrete domestic relationships. Social reality and contradictions in interest relationships are present in an especially important form even today in the organizational and religious life of the communities and in their aspirations. In spite of their exceptional diversity, they have common characteristics of collective aspirations and striving to satisfy the needs of religious life. Thus the social and ethical contradictions that can be found in every society are not eliminated by their activity. No matter how much their needs are based on religious demands and satisfying them, they cannot escape the requirements, trends and determinants of concrete social progress.

### Characteristics of the Small Churches

The member churches of the free churches have played a positive role, especially in the past two decades. Today it is characteristic that while they satisfy the religious needs of their increasing memberships, they are preserving their traditional dogmas and Biblical teachings and at the same time giving attention to understanding and cooperation with Marxists and creating conditions for dialogue with them.

The 13 small religious communities operating in our country comprise about 1180 congregations with some 50,000-52,000 members under 1800 leaders (pastors, preachers, evangelists).<sup>10</sup> "If we also include those," reports the president of the SZET, "who attend our meetings occasionally--3-5 times a year, then the number of people in the Free Churches comes to some 100,000 persons."<sup>11</sup> They show a varied picture geographically as well in regard to their spread, areas of influence, number of members, and social composition.

The main characteristics of the free churches can be summarized as follows:

- Most of them do not have independent theological systems.
- Their members can decide freely which church to belong to.
- They are independent of the state, however, the state retains the right to supervise them--through the State Office of Church Affairs.
- They have no hierarchy, because they are based on the principle of a universal priesthood. Their internal organizational structure is democratic.
- They do not collect church taxes; their administration is provided for through voluntary contributions by the members. They do not receive state support. They do not reject state support for political reasons, but on the basis of the principle that the church should be self-sustaining.

--At the center of their religiousness and religious life is the human approach, thus these denominations are characterized by a peculiar ethical aspect. In some cases they demonstrate considerable social activity, in others indifference.

--Among the individual organizations and forms of religious life and arising from the feeling of "renewal" of faith, these communities--though to differing degrees--engage in much more intensive missionary activity than the historical protestant churches, placing in the foreground irrational religious experiences, which are sometimes connected with fanaticism.

--In our times a stabilization of the basic communities of the small churches can be observed together with a strengthening of charismatic movements (speaking in tongues, healing through prayer, etc).

--The free churches--besides their common religious principles--are also characterized by considerable theological plurality. These doctrinal differences and the transfer of members from one church to another are respected highly by the SZET.

A study of the origin and activity of the present denominations whose "status has not yet been regulated" verifies that in the small churches a two-directional development is in progress: integration (building up a church) and disintegration (establishment of new, independent congregations) on the one hand and secularization that came to our country from West Germany in the 1970's has been making serious efforts since 1976 in the direction of becoming a free church. The Gospel Brethren community, which separated from the Methodist church in 1981, has recently won state recognition through working to create "independence" and "regularity."

The Jehovah's Witnesses religious congregations are presently the only religious community that is not legally regulated and whose operation the state does not recognize. Experience has shown that changes in social relationships and changes taking place among different religions in the church area have little or no positive effect on these communities. The content of their activity is characterized still today by anarchism and opposition to the order of the state, especially on the part of their leaders and representatives. Political work, forced recognition of leaders of congregations, and some state measures (orders by the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defense) have significantly narrowed their possibilities. Now they no longer hinder their youth from secondary and university education, watching television, and reading newspapers, and in some places they do not even keep them out of the Pioneer movement. They leave participation in military service to the "conscience" of the members, but objection to military service is still characteristic today. In recent years, every attempt to engage them in dialogue or at least to attempt to create conditions for it have failed because of their mistrust. Changes in the social basis of the congregations (influx of intelligentsia and youth) may yet succeed in breaking down their isolation somewhat in the near future at least in questions of ethics and public education.

In our time, the present era, the political task is unchanged: to transmit to the members of the small church communities as well the economic, cultural, and educational tasks connected with building a socialist society. In this effort we can rely completely on the leaders and theologians of the Hungarian Council of Free Churches, who in the recent past also have shown the greatest willingness to cooperate.

It is also an important task of the propaganda work taking place within the framework of the trade-union movement to help defeat the false and incorrect viewpoints that still today characterize this area of our ideological life, and to give reliable information about the life of the small churches to political workers' teachers of atheism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The SZET is an organization that coordinates activities and represents on a consultant basis the interests of its member churches. It represents the member churches before the State Office of Church Affairs and keeps in contact with social organizations and Hungary's historical churches. It has broad international contacts. It plays a positive role in international church organizations.
2. The member churches of the SZET are: Baptist, Seventh-Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Church of God, Old Christian Denomination, Christian Brethren Congregation and Free Christian Congregation. Participating in the work of the SZET as observers are the Nazarene Believers in Christ Congregation and the Gospel Brethren Community. The congregation whose "status has not yet been regulated" is the "Late Rain" denomination. The Jehovah's Witnesses denomination is in a legally unregulated situation.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Osszes Muvei" [Complete Works], Vol 12, "Szocializmus es vallas" [Socialism and Religion], Budapest: Kossuth, 1967 p 137. English translation: "Collected Works," Vol 10, London: Lawrence & Wishart, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962, p 87.
4. "Magyarország története [History of Hungary] 1848-1890," Vol II, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979, p 1163.
5. Karl Marx, "A hegeli jogfilozofia kritikájához" [Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law] in "Marx-Engels Muvei" [Works], Vol I, Budapest: Kossuth, 1957, pp 378-379. English translation: "Collected Works," Vol 3, New York: International Publishers, pp 175-176.
6. Compare János Csóhany, "A puritán parasztközösségek válsága Magyarországon a kapitalizmus kialakulásának korában" [The Crisis of Puritan Peasant Communities in Hungary During the Period of the Formation of Capitalism] in THEOLOGIAI SZEMLE Nos 1-2, 1976, pp 36-39.
7. This proclamation of the union of free churches formed in 1944--which is at the same time an indictment against the Horthy regime--contains the

tasks of religious equality and legal recognition. The sentence expressing the thought originated with the Italian statesman Cavour, who stated it on his death-bed in 1881 to express his desire as a last testament.

8. SZET minutes, Dr Frence Kiss, 1949, II 23.
9. Represented by: Dr Sandor Makkai, "A szektak keletkezésének okai" [Causes of the Rise of Sects] 1917; Sandor Csikész, "A szektakrol" [About the Sects] 1925; Dr Zoltan Nyisztor, "Szektak Magyarországon" [Sects in Hungary] 1926; Dr Erno Matyas, "A szektak es ellenük való védekezés módjai" [Sects and Methods of Defense Against Them] 1933; Imre Kovacs, "A néma forradalom" [The Mute Revolution] 1937.
10. Relying on data from the churches for 1982.
11. BEKEHÍRNOK, No 25, 1982, p 1.

9611

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POLAND

## OFFICER SCHOOL GRADUATES DISCUSS CAREERS, EXPERIENCES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Cpt Marek Sieniawski: "The Old, the Young, the Very Young..."]

[Text] They are all second lieutenants. I met them at the range. Some are only in their third month of military service. The rest have only 1 or 2 years of experience, considerations and achievements. Besides their military ranks, they are tied together by common problems and obstacles, which were identical in this unit at the beginning of their service.

They speak frankly about the start of their professional military service and share their personal observations. However, I did not hear two identical opinions. After all, each of these officers has his own personality and finds himself in different and unique service conditions.

### The Perspective of 2 Years

I met 2nd Lt Marian Nowak, a political officer, in the tent of the tank range field club. Two years ago he was a tank platoon commander. As a political graduate of the Higher Armored Forces Officers School, he commanded the platoon for a year.

Second Lieutenant Nowak says: "I acquired a great deal of knowledge and know-how in the conduct of political work while I was at the officers school. But it was only after my year of command that I really learned how to work with people. I learned how to lead from the ground up. If I had been sent to the political section immediately after school, it would have been very difficult to perform my assigned duties, inasmuch as I did not know the difficulties and headaches of commanders and soldiers very well. I still did not really understand military life."

The lieutenant continued: "The commander is primarily a training organizer. This demands the exact preparation of lessons and the conduct of proper briefings for subordinate commanders. Additionally, he has to conduct systematic training. This is all an extremely difficult and responsible task. I am especially grateful to Lt Andrzej Stefanczyk, who introduced me out of friendship to my new duties; as a result, I very quickly adapted to my service requirements."

Lieutenant Stefanczyk had been a company commander then for only a short time and this permitted him to understand better the problems and requirements of a young officer. It does not mean, however, that the lieutenant was any less demanding. On the contrary. He assigned specific tasks and reckoned with their exact completion. Subordinates always like specificity in leadership.

Nowak's platoon won second place in the unit's competition. The lieutenant suspected that his success could be found in his emotional involvement in his subunit's affairs. He also regarded his year in command as a test which defined his place in the soldiers' collective; this was a continuation of his activity as a young adult in the company ZSMP circle. He also believed that young officers should not cut their ties to the ZSMP as soon as they are commissioned.

In Lieutenant Nowak's opinion, as in the opinions of other higher officers school graduates, the leadership opportunities afforded to officer cadets in the various units should better prepare them to become platoon leaders.

#### Between Theory and Practice

After less than a year of service as a platoon commander, 2nd Lt Jacek Cichy, who graduated from the Higher Chemical Warfare Officers School, was transferred from his chemical unit to a tank regiment. He was assigned the command of an independent subunit. He faced entirely new problems which he had never encountered before.

Second Lieutenant Chichy shared some of his observations: "I think that the training of officer cadets for the chemical forces should not take place only in chemical units. I am now facing many problems which are sometimes difficult for me to manage. What good does it do that I already have a year of professional service behind me if I still have not dealt with the quartering of troops under field conditions and cannot manage my material resources? Inasmuch as I am not familiar with the specifics of this unit, paperwork and the transaction of detailed matters with the staff or with supply consume a great deal of my time."

This is not an isolated case, but a characteristic one which shows the problems of officer school graduates who have been trained to be specialists in specific branches, but then become commanders. The art of command is not something which can be learned from day to day, even if one relies on that which has been written in textbooks. One has to learn it through practice. One can observe others, rely on the assistance of sponsoring officers, or learn from personal errors.

In 2nd Lt Cichy's case, school did not prepare him practically for the command of an independent platoon. At the same time, even his 1 year of command in a chemical unit failed to prepare him for the type of obligations he now has to deal with.

## The First Step Is the Most Difficult

Second lieutenants Janusz Lech, Andrzej Noga and Waldemar Gozdowski, graduates of the Higher Armored Forces Officers School, performed as tank unit commanders for a 10-month period during their third year of study at the school. Only Second Lieutenant Lech ended up in the same subunit where he had performed as commander while still a cadet. This is very important. He had become accustomed to this unit; he had come to recognize its problems and know its professional personnel. While his peers were having many problems already at the beginning of their professional careers, he did not experience any headaches associated with his adapting to the new service conditions. In the case of Second Lieutenant Lech, the assistance of his sponsoring officer turned out to be needless. For the others, however, this assistance is very advisable.

At the same time, however, this does not mean that Second Lieutenant Lech is already performing the duties of a tank platoon commander without any difficulties. The demands placed on him as an officer are relatively different from those with which he came into contact while still an officer cadet performing the duties of a subunit commander. The acquisition of his commission is identified with the simultaneous acquisition of considerably greater knowledge and know-how and the achievement of the next step in unlocking the secrets of command.

During their command opportunities in their third year of study, the officer cadets were tank commanders and managed to stay on top of their tasks overall. Only a few commanded platoons for a certain time. It was after a year, albeit a year without any kind of command time, that the second lieutenants were entrusted with the command of tank platoons. For them, the learning of subunit direction, organization of training, and conduct of educational efforts began virtually from scratch.

An officers school cannot provide a learning environment that could permit officer cadets to experience what they would experience in an actual line unit. For example, tactical lessons are conducted according to instructional principles and a training program with almost total material support. In a unit, such conditions hardly ever exist. One has to give much of oneself in order to achieve planned training objectives given limited material resources.

At school, officer cadets do not bear direct responsibility for equipment, personnel, or the continuity of command and the training of subordinates. These very important duties befall them only after the assumption of their positions as platoon commanders.

Second Lieutenant Gozdowski states: "In the 4 years I spent at the officers school, I was evaluated for individual progress in learning. Here in the unit, I am mainly evaluated for the results achieved by the entire platoon."

Second Lieutenant Noga adds: "The style of leadership over fellow officer cadets was different; on the other hand, the style of leadership in command, especially in the training of soldiers, has to be different. What is more,

certain practical subjects are not taught to us at school, e.g., how to mount a tank trawl net properly. At the same time, the platoon commander is precisely the one who should teach his subordinates these subjects during their training lessons."

Second Lieutenant Lech recalls: "During a tactical exercise at the range, one of the tanks had an accident. The young tank commander along with his young tank driver were helpless. It was my instructions which finally led to overcoming the problems quickly. The result: it is also necessary for the commander to be a very good technical expert, and not only an expert in directing people."

The method of planning lessons, different from the school method, causes a great deal of problems for a second lieutenant initially. One needs to take advantage of the subjects taught to tank subunits independently, and know perfectly the method for instructing tank fire and the required training objectives. After all, the preparation and conduct of training lessons at school and in a military unit are quite different.

The units expect that higher officers school graduates are well-prepared for independent leadership and training. It is apparent that during the 4 years at school, there should have been time for learning these things. One needs to be ready to carry out specific tasks once in the regiment. Meanwhile, it is turning out that young second lieutenants still have to be introduced to the duties of platoon commander over a certain amount of time. Conditions do not always permit this, as in the case of the range unit which we are discussing in this article. Individual subunits are tested there, simulating combat conditions and perfecting their know-how.

Young officers who have barely familiarized themselves with their subunit, unit and garrison are already expected to direct them, first working and servicing their equipment in garrison and then at the range together with their young crews; they then have to test these crews in tactical and fire exercises. Hence, the recurring problems in directing fire during tactical exercises both during the day and during the night. Even the best intentions do not suffice if know-how and experience are lacking.

Besides the problems associated with training and command, young officers also have their own individual concerns and needs. A considerable number of second lieutenants arriving in the unit have even married while they were still cadets at school. In the tank garrison where they arrive there are no free apartments, only a crowded boardinghouse with two- and three-person rooms. A young family, perhaps already divided for 2 months and unable to take any leave during this time, provides the young graduates with additional adjustment problems. When they married, they probably thought that they would have no problems with regard to this issue.



## Combating the Problems of Young Officers

Can we and how do we combat all of these problems of our young officers? This is not a simple matter, as might be assumed at first glance. Certainly the military unit in which the graduate arrived is unable to solve all these problems itself. Nor will the company commander or the so-called sponsoring officer make up this education, which was supposed to have been covered at the military school or during the leadership and command practice opportunities. Additionally, the young officers cannot be expected to solve their own problems.

It is also difficult to wonder at the subunit commander for demanding so much from a young officer. With such a heavy workload, he looks to the young officer rather for assistance, and not as another training obligation. Instructional-methodological courses, organized before the beginning of training, also do not solve this problem totally.

The process of introducing a young officer completely to his duties as a platoon commander should take place during the officer cadets' hands-on training with the units. And this should be an obligation not only of the subunit commander, but of many other individuals. In sum, we are talking about the preparation of our future command cadres.

Recently, the officer cadet training program has undergone considerable modifications as we continue to change the studies offered. Relying on the results of officer cadet training practices achieved up until now, and after conducting many experiments and much research, we have found that the most efficient method for preparing young officer cadets for the assumption of their first duties in military units to be a 6-month period during their schooling when they work in exactly those positions and units in which they will work after they are commissioned.

We can say unequivocally, without delving into minutely and complicated ideas, that the needs of both the school and of military units are considered. We will find out how this system will pass the test in practice, inasmuch as a new model of alternating studies has been introduced this year in three military schools.

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POLAND

#### SHORTCOMINGS IN SELF-MANAGEMENT CITED

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY in Polish No 44, 1-7 Nov 84 pp 27-31

[Article by Jozef Barecki, chairman of the Sejm Commission on Enterprise Worker Self-Management: "Expectations and Realities"]

[Text] For the second time the Sejm has evaluated the state of development of enterprise worker self-management. It did this at a meeting devoted to a discussion of the results of introducing the economic reform. For this reason those functions of self-management which it performs as the subject of production relations as a body of the independent and self-financing enterprise came to the fore. However, the Sejm debate did not lack appraisals of self-management as an element in the sociopolitical system of socialism, especially its role in the development of socialist democracy. These two self-management functions, participation in enterprise management and democratization of social relations in the state, are closely associated with one another and have reciprocal effects upon each other.

Worker self-management exists in more than 90 percent of the enterprises. If legal regulations defining the principles of self-management activity in the PLL [Polish Air Lines] LOT, in the PKP [Polish State Railroads] and in the Polish Post, Telegraph and Telephone enterprise were adopted by the Sejm, an insignificant percentage of enterprises would be left in which the work force would not be organized in a self-management form.

Data illustrating the development of self-management are often accepted with a certain amount of skepticism. It is said that the fact that self-management exists does not mean much, that how it operates is more important. Obviously operation is of primary importance, but in order to operate it must first exist, be organized, and have the will to operate. This is particularly essential in the case of worker self-management. It cannot be appointed or dictated, but can only be formed by the workers themselves. If we recall and give consideration to the simultaneous dramatic political-economic conditions of 1982, in which self-management resumed or began its activity, the numerical data assume their real importance. The numbers indicated the range of worker support for economic reform, for socialist renewal and for national understanding. This contradicted those who were calling for a boycott of self-management. It ruled out their illusion of exploiting the working class for the socialist development of the state.

The very fact of the general formation of self-management was and is a significant political factor which must not be ignored if a positive evaluation of the attitude of the working class is desired.

This is confirmed by the professional structure of the members of self-management bodies elected by the work forces. Fears, putting in doubt the worker nature of these representatives or participation of party members in them, did not materialize.

A total of 128,700 persons were elected to the worker councils of enterprises and units composing them, including 98,500 persons (75 percent) as enterprise worker council members and 32,200 persons (25 percent of the total number of worker council members)<sup>1</sup> as worker council members of units helping to form enterprises.

More than half, 54.8 percent (70,500), of the council members are employed in worker positions.

Of the approximately 58,000 worker council members in nonworker positions, the participation of persons occupying administrative positions came to 41.7 percent, engineering and technical personnel to 35.7 percent, and economic and financial accountants to 17.5 percent.

The work forces elected party members to more than 30 percent of the worker council membership.

The qualifying structure of the worker council members corresponds to the social and trade structure. Thus members with a secondary vocational education dominate in the worker councils and constitute 29.8 percent (38,300 persons), followed by workers with a basic vocational education, 23.4 percent (30,100 persons). Workers with a higher education form 12.3 percent (15,800).

The age structure of worker council members is characterized by a high participation of workers in the group up to 39 years of age, amounting to 56.6 percent (including 11.1 percent up to 29 years of age and 45.4 percent from 30 to 39 years of age). Workers aged 40-49 constitute 30.4 percent, while workers 50 years old and older comprise 13.1 percent.

As the self-management structure stabilizes, the specific focus of the activity of their bodies gradually shifts from organizational matters to problems associated with the operation of the enterprises and the introduction of economic reform principles.

The self-management bodies have exercised their authority more and more fully in the area of setting and adopting annual enterprise plans, and approving balances and principles of profit distribution. Many of them have been occupied with an analysis of production costs, developing economical and anti-inflationary programs, and have established their position with respect to the

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<sup>1</sup>According to GUS [Main Office of Statistics] data.

investment plans of enterprises. In exercising their authority, the existing worker councils adopted 67,800 resolutions in 1983. Still incomplete information indicates that the number of resolutions adopted this year has increased considerably.

Many worker councils are mobilizing the work forces to achieve better results from their work, raising the quality of production, and combating waste and carelessness, and are undertaking activities jointly with trade unions for the purpose of improving working conditions and social living conditions for the work forces.

The effect of self-management on enterprise administration is constantly increasing. It is of a constructive nature and introduces into decisions made in the enterprise a public evaluation, work force support and its responsibility for the public effects of economic activity.

A basic measurement of the constructive nature of self-management's effect on enterprise economy is its economic effect. However, it is difficult to evaluate this in short periods of time.

Other factors can be called on for assistance. For one thing, there are few cases where resolutions of existing worker councils have been questioned in view of their lack of conformity with the public interest. In addition, there has not been a single case of suspension of the activity of a self-management body or recourse to the State Council Commission with an application for its dissolution.

This does not mean that all worker councils are really achieving their basic tasks and becoming engaged in the solution of problems which condition the proper development of the enterprise and consolidation of socialist work principles. There are cases where worker councils are satisfied with practices opposing requirements for the rational, effective utilization of enterprise production potential, and do not react to low production quality, outrageous price fixing, inefficiency, and price increases without results in work productivity.

There are various reasons for this. Undoubtedly there is too often a phenomenon of poorly assumed concern for the good of the work force, consequently revealing a self-serving nature opposed to the public interest. This attitude of a worker council is revealed in pressure exerted on the staff directing the enterprise or in mutual cooperation, in which the worker council forms a special screen protecting administrative actions not in conformity with the public interest.

But other sources of this phenomenon must also be looked at. The majority of self-management participants, particularly workers, do not possess sufficiently knowledge of the social and economic priorities of the economy or of the principles of enterprise functioning. This is understandable, for this knowledge is not acquired overnight, and recent years have not promoted economic education.

In this situation particularly important is abundant advanced information for self-management on enterprise and economy matters which will not only be of an educational nature, but will primarily help the self-management participants to form their own individual attitude in enterprise matters.

At the same time, the parent agencies, with a few exceptions, and the enterprise administrations do not transmit to the worker councils the necessary materials, evaluations and expertise enabling self-management to make its own resolutions. It also happens that enterprise plans, which cannot be legally valid without an appropriate resolution of the worker council, are presented to it after the proper time without adequate justification and not leaving the council any possibility of reflecting on them, investigating their components and consulting the opinions of interested partners, especially the trade unions. Such treatment of self-management leads to a very ominous situation, because it often produces a situation in which resolutions on matters of importance to the work force and the enterprise are taken with a minimal number of votes. The majority of council members abstain from voting because they do not want to take responsibility, since they do not have a developed viewpoint concerning the problem being considered.

To this it is necessary to add the phenomenon of insufficient legal service for self-management bodies on the part of the enterprise legal advisors.

NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] inspections have verified<sup>2</sup> that in one out of four enterprises self-management is not granted the proper legal assistance. In many enterprises the engineering office service is inadequate for the self-management bodies. This makes it difficult for self-management to develop documents properly, especially its resolutions and questions put on the agenda during a meeting.

Consideration of work force self-management focuses around a few "iron" [perpetual] subjects. One of these is the entire sphere of relations between self-management enterprise bodies and the administrative body or director. However, in these considerations the subject is examined from a narrow viewpoint, exclusively from the basis of reciprocal authority, and especially its observation. This is a matter of enterprise functioning, but we have a great deal to do with a broader phenomenon at the director-self-management interface. With respect to self-management, the director appears in a sort of dual role: as a one-person enterprise body assuming personal responsibility for decisions made in the process of enterprise management, and as a representative of the professional management cadre. This cadre is not always in the background, but comes into direct contact with self-management in everyday enterprise life.

These mutual relations do not assume their positions without conflict. There are frequent cases where the cadre represents viewpoints hostile to self-management, questioning its helpfulness in managing a modern enterprise. On the other hand, some self-management participants minimize the role of the administrative cadre and exhibit aspirations to replace it.

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<sup>2</sup>We have printed detailed information on this subject on page 32 in "In the light of NIK inspections. Work force self-management--a coordinate partner."

These misunderstandings have their source in the opposition between the need for professionalization and democratization of management, between the demands of assuring high effectiveness and an expansion of the objective role of the work force.

However, this is not an antagonistic opposition, since neither of the parties to this opposition can be eliminated. We know from experience that limiting the role of the direct producers in management has led to bureaucratization of the economy and, in effect, has been one of the factors in the crisis, which has not been a purely economic one.

It is also impossible to eliminate specialized personnel from the management of social production, because this would lead to chaos and confusion in the entire production process.

The division of authority between the management bodies and self-management representation of the work force does not admit of any arbitrary decisions by the professional body or of discounting the work force opinions. The diffusion of democratic principles in administration is inevitably associated with the work force representatives presenting corrections to decisions made by the economic personnel, to changes in them or even to their retraction. Still, this should not discourage the management cadre or hurt their professional ambitions. Even the best decisions, from a professional viewpoint, do not produce the desired results if the people carrying them out do not consider them their own and are not interested in them. At the present time there is no way of organizing this interest outside of self-management. For this reason the greatest current task is harmonizing the activity of the professional management personnel with the activities of the actual producers.

In the administrative personnel self-management must have a partner convinced of the need to democratize the economic management process. This process cannot proceed with the opposition of the personnel, but only with their participation.

The everyday reality of self-management cannot be subjected to a generalized evaluation. This is natural, because we are dealing with an unusually complex and difficult process of basic transformations in the model of enterprise direction, in relations between its subjects, and with changes in the opinions and minds of people.

We are at the beginning of this process. Meanwhile, miracles are expected from self-management. These expectations include natural reactions from society, which has been severely tried by the results of the command-directive system of management, and sees in self-management, in socialized management, a rapid and effective remedy for the crisis. Self-management is not able to produce such rapid results.

The miracle theory also operates in another system. Some of the management personnel, operating in the past within the comforts of dictating authorities, and especially some of the economic administration in enterprises, have not become reconciled to the effects which management democratization has introduced into

enterprise life and relations between the cadre and the work force, and not only perpetuate the atmosphere of excessive expectations from self-management, but throw the entire responsibility for production efficiency from the professional staff to self-management, thus harming it more severely than those who openly oppose the changes made.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has stated: "Self-management is more than a political dictate, more than a legal standard. It is a way of making the work force feel joint administration and joint responsibility, and of meeting mature worker aspirations.

"The development of worker self-management is proceeding under difficult conditions, ideological and political ones, and economic and organizational ones. On the one hand, political opponents demagogically voice slogans about the alleged burial of the idea of self-management, while on the other hand they do not stop trying to penetrate some self-management bodies, forcing their activity along paths contrary to the law. This only adds to the obligation of our party, its echelons and organizations to counter both the disintegrating, narrow-group tendencies, the pressure of which can still often be observed, and also the bureaucratic and technocratic attitude at odds with the spirit and letter of the reform, characterized by an aversion to worker democracy, mistrust in creative possibilities, and disregard for the public factor in factory life."

Work force self-management is a socialist democratic institution with a long ideological and programmatic lineage, but young with respect to its practice and experience. Therefore, its operations should be evaluated objectively, and its distortions should be perceived and exposed, but more moderation should also be shown in expectations and, especially, it should be given honorable assistance in its maturation.

6806

CSO: 2600/286

## CHANGES IN, PERFORMANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION ASSESSED

### New Selection Criteria

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Rules for 1985-86 Student Enrollment: 4.25 Average Needed To Register"]

[Text] The Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology has announced that the public consultations concerning the rules of enrollment for higher studies have been completed. The suggestions submitted indicate the need for ongoing preparation and implementation of new solutions within the long-range system of selection of candidates for the first year of regular studies.

That is why, in all the schools supervised by the ministry, the enrollment of freshmen for the 1985-86 term will proceed according to the temporary modified rules, set out in the 31 December 1984 guidelines issued by the minister of science, higher education, and technology.

Although social preferences have been--generally speaking--abolished, supplementary points for social origin will be maintained in the 1985-86 term for some academic courses. It is to be assumed that experimental solutions, aimed at shaping the desirable social mix of freshmen, will also be introduced.

In accordance with these principles, the following criteria for the selection of freshman candidates will be in force:

1. As last year, laureates and finalists of olympiads and subject competitions will be admitted as students without entrance examinations (according to the relevant guidelines).

2. The following candidates who have passed the entrance examinations will be admitted as freshmen without any additional qualification proceedings:

--candidates who at their entrance examinations received the median grade set up by the appropriate university rector, not lower than 4.25;

--orphans and residents of child-care institutions;



--candidates with completed military service, positively recommended by the commanding officer of their unit;

--candidates with at least 2 years of internship as workers in a branch appropriate for their chosen course of studies, with a positive recommendation;

--candidates with 10 months of service in a student labor corps, organized by the university.

3. Teaching and agricultural studies will admit without any qualification proceedings candidates who have passed their entrance examinations and have lived--at least during their high-school years--in the countryside or in towns with a population not exceeding 5,000.

4. For the first time the possibility has been envisaged of setting up a zero term for prominent workers and peasants with at least 2 years of work experience in a socialized enterprise or on a private farm, recommended by the Rural Youth Union or by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth. With zero-term credits, and having passed the entrance examinations, they might be admitted as freshmen. The zero term may also be attended by candidates of worker and peasant origin who have passed their entrance examinations but have not been admitted as students for lack of vacancies.

5. University-level schools may admit on an experimental basis candidates for teaching and agricultural studies who have passed their entrance examinations, sending them for 1-year employment supplemented by extra-mural studies. Credits for the freshmen term and a positive recommendation by their employer might grant them admittance to the second year of regular studies.

The ministry announces that--as in recent years--the qualification proceedings include results of the entrance examinations and the high-school grades, as well as--in some courses--supplementary qualifying criteria. The proceedings are based on a system of points, according to the following guidelines, now in force:

--results of the entrance examinations, calculated in points;

--grants of supplementary points.

Supplementary points are granted for the following reasons:

--at least good grades achieved by the candidate in high school;

--worker or peasant social origin, exclusively for the following studies: political science, journalism, religious science, philosophy, sociology, history, law, civil administration, theory of economics, organization and management, economics and organization of foreign trade.

The scope of entrance examinations remains unchanged.

The Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology has also announced that the currently existing facilities for promoting the educational aspirations of the younger generation will be continued. The state will provide

free assistance in preparing for higher studies candidates from worker and peasant families, as well as from culturally disadvantaged communities, mainly through broader and richer cooperation between university-level schools and high schools, and by setting up preparatory courses. The possibility is envisaged of creating a special TV course, called "TV Academy for Graduates," which would include principal subjects and courses, as well as basic elements of sociopolitical and philosophical knowledge.

#### Need for Socialist Education

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Jan 85 p 6

[PAP report: "Assessing the Functioning of the Higher Education Law: Position Paper by the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers, at its 13 December 1984 session, assessed the functioning of the 4 May 1982 Higher Education Law. The position paper, approved by the committee and submitted for public consultation, is published in Friday's issue of RZECZPOSPOLITA. The most relevant points of the document follow:

--The Higher Education Law was prepared following a broad public discussion, held for over a year and a half, mainly in the scholarly community.

--The law was promulgated under martial law, that is to say, at a time when the government enjoyed a broad range of extraordinary powers, and the climate was not propitious for the implementation of the ideals of growing self-management. The government assumed that the academic teachers' community would understand that the broad scope of autonomy granted to the universities by the law was a gesture on the part of the authorities in order to create the most favorable conditions for a joint endeavor to achieve goals which should guide all university-level schools in the socialist system.

--The Sejm passed the law not as a gesture of magnanimity but as proof of government's trust in the academic community. Having confirmed the government's wish to continue the process of socialist renewal, the law was at the same time a document resembling a sui generis social contract. Reducing the need to resort to administrative measures in running the schools, it also assumed as a ground rule that the academic community--in its practical, day-to-day activity--would positively implement the law as a whole, that is to say, including those of its provisions which determine the socialist character of university-level schools.

--Two years' experience in implementing the law and its collateral guidelines have proven that not all the scholarly community tends to respect the rules of the social contract. Many provisions of the law have failed to pass the test, and the law has some legal lacunae which affect academic life unfavorably.

--The most serious shortcomings in the proper functioning of the law have emerged in the area of running university-level schools, treated by the anti-socialist forces as an area of confrontation with the state authorities. In

many schools autonomy has been interpreted as full, virtually absolute independence from state authorities, as total autonomy. This tendency came to the fore in particular during the elections of academic ruling bodies, held last spring. In many schools elections were properly held, with due concern for accommodating both the interests of the autonomous school and the interests of the socialist state. In some schools, of major impact for the general atmosphere in the academic community, they assumed the character of political demonstrations directed against the state, against the socialist socioeconomic system; this was proven by their course, by the slate of candidates presented, and by the election results.

--The Sociopolitical Committee has exhaustive documentation available, which indicates that the autonomy of university-level schools provided for in the law has been abused by some academic teachers who educate students in the spirit of dislike, even of hostility, toward socialism.

Simultaneously, the weakening of the intellectual activity of university-level schools has been clearly noticed as far as scholarly research, training of scientific cadres, and accomplishment of their instruction and education goals are concerned. There has been recently a dearth of significant scientific accomplishments, the number and the level of PhD and habilitation theses have decreased, there are no serious initiatives for improved instruction proceedings, which had abounded in the 1970's, and any involvement in the educational process is being avoided. The obvious reduction in intellectual activity is even more amazing since the fall in the number of students has created favorable conditions for increased research programs and for improved instruction and education processes, and for a more individualized approach in particular.

--In order to ensure Poland's development commensurate with her capabilities and comparable to that of other highly developed nations, the ongoing disintegration processes in the academic community must be halted and reversed. The spirit of the Higher Education Law must be protected against those who abuse it for activities disastrous for the future of Polish scholarship and for the Polish socialist state.

--Under the existing circumstances, it is necessary to reflect on whether to abandon the principle of statutes voted by university-level schools themselves, and subsequently consulted with the minister during a prolonged, strenuous, and inefficient process of negotiations. Today it seems proper for the supervising ministers to impose the statutes of the school, following its rector's suggestions. The minister should also have the authority to react effectively in all cases of violation of law or of public interest by the school governing bodies.

--Radical change seems necessary in those provisions of the law that prescribe the make-up of the senate and of faculty councils, in order to ensure that full professors, associate professors, and qualified assistant professors regain their prevailing influence. In addition to them, the collective governing bodies of university-level schools should include representatives of the party and of political factions active in the school, as well as--to a small extent only--representatives of younger academic teachers and of student organizations.

--Throughout the functioning organs of university-level schools the proper impact of the PZPR school committees should be safeguarded on all decisions made, in particular those concerned with cadre policy and with the socialist education of students. This is also true with regard to the political factions, including cadre problems of their members. The trade union organization should have the right to represent the interests of the staff, and have assured representation in the collective governing bodies.

--Legislation should provide for the effective impact of state authorities on appointments to one-man executive positions in university-level schools. The principle according to which the rector is appointed by the minister, following consultation with the university senate, seems the most appropriate. The scope of the rector's and the deans' authority should be enlarged. The character of student self-management should be radically changed, according to the principle that the interests of the student body as a whole are represented vis-a-vis the school authorities by school committees of the nationwide student and youth organizations.

--The school authorities should also be accorded means of effective reaction in all cases of blatant student violation of the rules of social coexistence and of public order. Essential changes are necessary in those provisions of the law which concern the terms of employment for academic teachers. The law must allow the rectors to exert proper influence on the selection of research and teaching staff, and to create means for dismissing persons hostile to the socialist state from the body of educators of academic youth. Life-tenured appointments of academic teachers should be reduced to the minimum, and their employment even totally avoided.

--The rectors, as well as (in the case of professors and associate professors) the ministers supervising university-level schools, should also be authorized to dismiss all academic teachers who are involved in activities incompatible with the goals and character of a socialist university, or who are guilty of socially harmful acts, including pronouncements damaging to the interests of the Polish People's Republic. Legislative acts should also take into account the financial requirements of higher education, and improve the system of remuneration.

--The Sociopolitical Committee expresses its hope that the academic community will accept with all due respect the assessments and the conclusions here presented, and that those who enjoy prestige in the community will do everything possible to ensure that the discussion inspired by the publication of this position paper should proceed in a climate of seriousness, common sense, and responsibility. For the sake of the uninterrupted development of higher education, such a discussion cannot be allowed to become dominated by any elements of demagoguery, or even hostility toward socialism.

12485

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POLAND

MICEWSKI DISCUSSES CHURCH PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

Wroclaw NOWE ZYCIE in Polish No 24, 30 Dec 84-12 Jan 85 pp 8-9

[Interview with Editor Andrzej Micewski, by Pawel Kadziela: "The Need for a Synthesis"]

[Text] [Question] According to the press, you have been appointed by Cardinal Jozef Glemp as Social Policy Advisor to the Primate. This is a completely new position in the Polish church. What range of duties are included in this position?

[Answer] The position is new and, I hope, temporary. In the nearest future the 3-year term of the Primate's Social Council ends and the Primate is looking for broader contact with the laity. The Primate has not specified the concrete duties of his Social Policy Advisor. On the other hand, it was obvious to the Primate and to me that the Social Policy Advisor ought to concentrate in his work on facilitating for the head of the church in Poland possibly a broad contact with the laity and at the same time create for the laity an opportunity for direct dialog with the Primate of Poland. It seems to me that it would be a great opportunity for the laity to have a direct dialog with the highest hierarch and also an opportunity for the primate to learn the new trends which, particularly in the young generation, are alive or coming to life, and are the trends of the future. The position of advisor to the Primate, despite some conjectures, is above all of social character and not of a political one. Conversations and political contacts, although they do take place sometimes, are secondary in relation to my main duty which is to bring Poland's Primate closer to the intellectual elites and the broader social circles of our country.

[Question] Is the nomination of a new Social Council to the Polish Primate under consideration?

[Answer] I think that since the church had such an institution as the Social Council (which played an important role and issued at least two important documents that became known not only within the country but also abroad), it will appoint a new council. It is only a question of time, because it is important that each new council be increasingly better and serve the church better. I am convinced that both the Social Council to the Primate and the diocesan social councils are needed, and their personal composition depends on the bishops.

[Question] To what extent and in what form can the church participate in the country's social life?

[Answer] The church's main function consists in teaching, i.e., evangelizing and consecrating by administering the holy sacraments. Recently it has also become fashionable to say that the church has critical and forecasting functions, namely, a function criticizing the existing structures, and also forecasting with regard to the criticism of its own structures. The church performed the critical function very well during the whole 40-year period and the church's authority stems to a large measure to the fact that in performing this function it always remained cautious. It simply performed the critical function from the point of view of the Gospel and the principles of morality, and not from the point of view of political aspirations. The church after World War II never wanted power and never identified with any political group or direction. On the other hand, when it voiced criticism, it did it from the point of view of the moral conditions of the development of the human personality. Therefore it was able to speak in a wise way and its criticism was accepted. (----) [Article 2, point 1 and 2, law on the control of publications and shows from 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, 1983, item 204)]. I emphasize the basic difference between criticism of political factors and criticism of the church factor which consists in the church always caring for the individual and the nation, and not for the interests of a parish or a political group.

[Question] In the sixteen months from August 1980 to December 1981 an enormous enlivening of public life took place in Poland. This awakening continues, society is neither asleep, nor has it resigned from the values adopted as its own in August 1980. Do you not believe that today in a changed situation many milieus expect from the church sometimes more and a something a little different than the church can offer them?

[Answer] The church will never substitute for a political party or trade unions and will not substitute for society itself, which is entitled to pluralism of attitudes, views and behaviors. The church can only increase its ministerial-educational work. Next to general ministerial work, an increasing number of specialized ministries have come into existence in the country: the academic ministry, high school ministry, the ministry of farmers, working people, creative communities. Within this framework, but in a range accessible to it, namely a socioreligious range, the church can try to influence social education and preparation of the largest possible number of people to conditions in which these people can act freely. The church can try to help through these ministerial forms, but it will never replace society and will never replace the natural laws for organization and association.

[Question] In the last few years the number of church publications published in Poland has increased immensely. From the perspective of your many years of publishing experience, how do you evaluate these new publications?

[Answer] I believe that for a start, after a long absence of Catholic publishing in Poland (because in the fifties particular press organs became silent,

and in the eighties, after 30 years, became vocal again), we must view these publications with respect. The fact alone that they are so avidly bought by society proves that readers find in them something which they need, which is useful to them. These publications have not been rejected on the periodical market, thus the initial period has been won. Currently the point is, the important thing is that these publications grow in quality and have ever more content. I have a specific view. I believe that the editing of a publication is an art. One can have 20 splendid journalists and coworkers and yet lack the art of editing. Then a publication will be good in the sense of particular writings, but will not be well knit, will not constitute a cohesive whole. What seems important to me today is that we should have more editors who possess the art of editing and the art of journalism.

[Question] You are the author of many books concerning the most recent history of Poland, among them the biography of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. What are your writing plans? What will appear in the nearest future besides the collection of essays entitled "Politics Becomes History," announced by the "Czytelnik" Publishing Cooperative?

[Answer] I would like to write two more books. The first one would deal with the history of the church in Poland in recent years, already after the death of Cardinal Wyszyński and would tell about the role of the church in the most dramatic period of the recent turning point in Poland's history. Writing this work is a very difficult task, because if it is to be an honest book, it must be written on the basis of archives and source materials which at this early stage are unwillingly made accessible by all the sides participating in the events. The second book I would like to write is about the ideological tensions which, in my conviction, are very strong and bashfully hidden in Polish Catholicism and Polish Catholic elites. I am not talking about the tensions between the groups closer to the government and the groups which try above all to maintain their ties to the church, namely the Sejm groups and the church laity. I am talking about true differences in Polish Catholicism. I believe that if you trace the journalism of the last few years, you would see that the laity have had serious clashes. We can take for example the exchange of views between Jerzy Turowicz and the lawyer, Stefan Kaczorowski. In this polemic, fundamental issues were raised, which to be sure were issues of a previous generation, but which I insist are current and of this generation. Someone brought it to my attention that if I speak in this case of the tradition of the Laski or of the tradition of Niepokalanów, I am narrowing the issue. The problem is wider and one cannot narrow it down to these two pedigrees. In the twenties, there were many bishops who showed a tendency toward the nationalist orientation (if not Archbishop Teodorowicz), and in the thirties together with Catholic Action, a new formation revealed itself, a new way of thinking. Finally came the influences of French Catholicism which led to the creation of a personalistic orientation, numerically smaller but, as it later showed, of the future. Because during the war it began to play a greater role and particularly after the war, after a certain time, it got an intellectual monopoly on Polish Catholicism. I judge that a synthesis of these traditions, these schools of thought, would be useful. I am thinking of some sort of model of Catholic thinking. An example could perhaps be Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, who in an organic way connected the humanistic attitude,

placing the person in the center of worldly values, with the nationalist tradition, strictly related with the history of the fates of the church and the nation in Poland. It seems that type of synthesis would be very necessary.

[Question] I hope your plans are realized and thank you for the interview.

12270

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POLAND

# CATHOLIC WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS TOP STORIES OF 1984

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 27-28, 23-30 Dec 84 p 16

[Text] From January Through May

In this 5-month period, PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI [The Catholic Review] was not yet on the periodicals market. The Warsaw Archdiocese, one of the largest in Poland in both area and population (including 3.5 million faithful), headed by the Polish Primate, still did not have its own publications center.

On 22 December 1983, Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp consecrated and ceremonially opened the Warsaw Archdiocesan Publishing House [WAW]. WAW received approval to resurrect the weekly PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI. After consecrating WAW headquarters, the primate presented Rev Dr Waldemar Wojdecki, director of WAW and editor-in-chief of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, with a decree whose text is the following: "In accordance with the provisions of the Decree on Pastoral Duties of Bishops in the Church of Christus Dominus, and having been granted a license by the Ministry of Culture and Art on 23 May 1983 (L.dz. DK-1-P-1/058-RW/8/83 [expansion unavailable]), I hereby found the Warsaw Archdiocesan Publishing House named for St John the Baptist. The Publishing House Statute defines in detail the goal and principles of operation of the publishing house. I place its entire apostolic mission and the director and his coworkers under the care of St John the Baptist, patron of the publishing house, and give my most heartfelt blessing. Warsaw 15 December 1983." Then the Polish primate said: "Above all, I wish to express my joy that father-editor, having a wealth of experience, has embarked with full enthusiasm upon this work that is so necessary in the life of the diocese. We have felt this lack very keenly. (...) We are embarking upon this task at a difficult time, to seek the truth more honestly and to bring together and support all talented people that wish to serve the good. Following the experiences we have undergone, it is evident that good must be sought in the proper concept of man, in the proper understanding of man, for as we know, it is impossible to really understand man without God. Thus I believe that our work here should be the work of honest people, the work of people with 'clean hands,' for the Church needs such people and it must train them. These must be people that understand the Church as it was manifested at the [Second Vatican] Council, people that know how to pray. And so, let this center, that will join together the energies of the clergy and lay people, battling against the problems of contemporary life, be the source of the spoken, written and read word for building a better society for us and for strengthening the Church."

On 25 and 26 January, the 198th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated in Warsaw. Its communique states: "The conference took place for the first time during the current year of 1984, about which the Holy Father said the following in his New Year address: '(The year 1984) everywhere threatens to be a year full of uncertainty and fear, but it also promises to be a year rich in hope and possibilities.' (...) The difficult economic situation of our country once again is evident in the price increase for food items. This will demand new sacrifice and self-denial. We should aim towards mutual, solidary assistance, sharing with the poor. The situation also demands just settlements within the wages, pensions and annuities framework. (...) Social tensions are not abating. Many working people are disillusioned. Some are still in prison in spite of the fact that they believed they were serving just causes. Many lost their jobs or were degraded in the eyes of society. The church is not ending its campaign to eliminate wrongs, since this is part of its mission. At the same time, it is teaching the need to secure the state as the common good. The bishops are expressing the hope that the worthy attempts to obtain necessary foreign aid for Polish farmers will bring about the hoped-for results. (...) The bishops are disturbed by the severity and arbitrariness of censorship, including the censorship of texts in church and Catholic publications, while publications containing immoral and pornographic materials are on the rise. This comment applies as well to some items in television programs.

"Recently, church and public property has been threatened seriously in many dioceses, sometimes being irreparably damaged by church fires, break-ins and theft. At times the Blessed Sacrament has been profaned. All this deals a blow to the deepest religious convictions and sentiments. Generally the perpetrators have not been found. Bishops urge the faithful to keep vigilant guard over their places of worship. We know from our current experiences that places of worship are renovated only at the expense of tremendous effort. They are testimony to our faith, the place of the upbringing and sanctification of Poles, the dearest treasure of our national culture, frequently the heritage of many Polish generations."

We read in the communique: "In the field of Church-State relations, the bishops heard the report of the Polish primate and the secretary of the Episcopate on the state of talks on stabilizing relations between the Apostolic See and the Polish People's Republic [PRL] (...)" (on 5 January, a meeting was held between Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRL, and Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland).

Twelve hundred journalists assembled for the 27 January audience that was the culminating point of the program celebrating the Holy Year of the Jubilee of the Resurrection for the world of journalism. The meeting opened in St Peter's Basilica with concelebrated Holy Mass. The chief celebrant was Cardinal Ratzinger. At the Vatican's Beatitudes Auditorium, a round-table discussion was held on the topic: "Worldly Crosses--the Cross of Christ." The Holy Father told the journalists: "For the Christian that treats his journalistic work as the performance of an apostolate, with the characteristic awareness and supernatural vision, this profession becomes a commitment to

serve the message of salvation, so that this message reaches all people. The most profound source, from which flows the efficacy of such testimony, is the Cross. It is in the Cross that the mystery of the resurrection of man is fulfilled. Not in vain does St Paul, when evangelizing the pagan world, place the crucified Christ at the center of his teachings and writings. This is regarded by the Jews as nonsense and by the pagans as madness, but it is the power and wisdom of God for those that have accepted the faith (see 1 Corinthians, 23-24).

[----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, article 2, points 1 and 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, revised in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

On 25 March in Rome, families celebrated the Jubilee of the Resurrection. During Holy Mass, the Holy Father entrusted mankind to Our Lady before a statue of Our Lady specially brought from Fatima.

On 26 March a meeting was held of the Joint Commission of representatives of the PRL Government and the Polish Episcopate.

On 28 and 29 March, the 199th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate was held in Warsaw. We learn from the communique that the Polish bishops expressed their gratitude to the Holy Father for the epistle "Salvifici Doloris" (proclaimed on 11 February), in which he addressed the issue of the sense of human suffering, and for the hortative epistle "Redemptoris Donum" (proclaimed on 27 March), devoted to the values of monastic life and the need for it in today's world. "With the approach of the end of the Jubilee Year of the Resurrection, the bishops sent a pastoral letter to the faithful in which they consider the vital significance of the Cross of Christ. [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, article 2, points 1 and 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, revised in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]."

During the 199th plenary meeting, a secret ballot was held to elect members of the conference organs for the new 5-year term. (In PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI No 1, 1985 we will give a full description of the administrative structure of the Catholic Church in Poland.)

On 25 April, following a ceremonial Easter Mass, the Holy Father proclaimed his Message to close the Holy Year. He noted in this Message that "Christ does not know closed gates." Following the traditional closing of the Holy Doors of St Peter's Basilica, the pope addressed young people: "Beloved youth, at the close of the Holy Year, I entrust to you the sign of this jubilee year: the Cross of Christ. Take it into the world as a sign of the love Our Lord cherished for humanity and tell everyone that only in the dead and risen Christ is there salvation and resurrection."

On 2 May John Paul II began his longest pilgrimage to date (lasting until 12 May), to the Far East. He traveled 38,500 km to Alaska, South Korea, Papua, New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Thailand. The purpose of the trip was to strengthen the faith of the young people of the churches of Asia and Oceania.

On 2 May, the vigil of the feast of Our Lady Queen of Poland, the Polish bishops gathered at the national shrine at Jasna Gora for 2 days of deliberations. In the communique from this 200th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate, the bishops spoke of their spiritual link with the Holy Father, who was starting out that day on his 21st apostolic journey. We read: "The entire church in Poland accompanies the Holy Father on this journey with heartfelt remembrance and a fervent prayer." The bishops, mindful of the great recognition accorded the service of the Holy Father and its great importance for the church and the world, stated: "The attacks on the person and the pastoral work of Holy Father John Paul II are regrettable. [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, article 2 point 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, revised in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]."

The Plenary Conference of the Episcopate likewise considered the population situation in Poland. It was learned that accurate studies show that the superficial observations that indicate that the size of Polish families is growing are false. We read: "It is the duty of the church, emanating from the obligation to give testimony to the truth, to inform society of the real population situation and to warn against its acceptance of reports that clearly are against childbearing. The church will renew its continual efforts to extol the high dignity of having children and to protect human life against all attempts against it, through the available pastoral means."

On 13 May, the feast of St Stanislaw Bishop and Martyr (Krakow, Skalka), the primate of Poland gave a homily in which he reflected upon the relations that could take place between church and state, in the context of the message emanating from the tragic conflict between King Boleslaw the Bold and Bishop Stanislaw of Krakow.

The homily contains a very important lesson on the social teachings of the church, teachings discoursed on by the Polish primate. The Polish mass media, using quotes taken out of the context of the full sermon, distorted the ideas of the Polish primate and oversimplified them enormously. The Secretariat of the Primate protested against this.

On 15 May, the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate reported that church representatives would conduct talks with state authorities on resolving the problem of the still-imprisoned members of the former KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee KOR] and seven members of the former NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity that was dissolved by government decision, as well as the question of others imprisoned for politically motivated actions.

On 15 May, Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp consecrated a group of Polish seminarians deacons during a stay in Paris.

On 16 May in Rome, the observance of the 40th anniversary of the Battle of Monte Cassino opened with a concelebrated mass with Bishop Szczepan Wesoly as chief celebrant. Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp and Archbishop Stanislaw Dabrowski participated in the celebration. The following day,

during an audience of nearly 6,000 persons, the Holy Father said: "...The Polish nation wishes to live its own real life, that it wishes to be sovereign in its own state, for whose preservation on the map of Europe it has paid by an enormous hecatomb of victims. It has paid in the bloodshed of Monte Cassino."

On 18 May, mass was said at the Polish military cemetery at Monte Cassino. Main celebrant was Cardinal Wladyslaw Rubin. Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glomp said in his homily during this mass: "What does the world desire from us today? What does it want from Poland? Once it wanted a 'corridor,' today it desires barriers and perhaps bloodshed as well. Have we not shed enough blood? Too much perhaps? Have we not shed blood from Tobruk to Narvik? Polish blood was shed at Katyn, at Lenino, at Dunkirk and at the Pomorze defense wall... Have we not shed too much blood on foreign fronts? And how many losses have we had in the concentration camps? These are our reflections--reflections, not complaints. It is the desire to elicit recommendations for the future and a soberminded proposal that our freedom and yours must exist side by side! (...) we must be aware that these struggles for our freedom and yours give us equal rights among the nations of Europe. You do not have to give us what is left on your table out of pity, since our due is the life worthy of every country, according to the level of the civilization to which we belong and that we are cocreating."

On 24 May, the Secretariat of the Polish Primate reported that the Holy Father raised to the status of bishop Father Prof Marian Jaworski, at the same time naming him apostolic administrator in Lubaczow.

On 27 May, 1,000 miners, laboring under difficult conditions in Slask, made their annual visit to Our Lady of Justice and Societal Love to pay their homage and place their cares before her.

On 31 May, the trial connected with the case of the death of Grzegorz Przemyk began before the Provincial Court in Warsaw.

In June

4--the Joint Commission of the representatives of the PRL Government and the Polish Episcopate met.

7--Cardinal Jozef Glomp, primate of Poland, appointed the Organizational Committee of the Agricultural Foundation, whose purpose is to aid the development of family farms and the trades that serve farming. The committee is composed of 12 members, including Father Alojzy Orszulik acting as plenipotentiary of the Polish Episcopate, Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski as committee chairman and Dr Maria Stolzman as committee secretary.

12 (to 17)--the Holy Father took an apostolic trip through Switzerland. He visited 14 places, made 34 addresses and met with the World Council of Churches at its headquarters. The major topic of the pope's catechesis was the issue of Catholic identity and the related issue of ecumenism.

15 and 16--the 201st Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate in Radom. The selection of Radom as the location for deliberations was tied in with the anniversary celebration of 500 years since the death of St. Kazimierz Królewicz, patron of Poland and Lithuania. (The celebration began on 4 March in Krakow and it ended with the 14 October observances in Bialystok.)

The Polish Episcopate appealed to the nation to make August a month of abstinence from alcoholic beverages, since it is the month of great Marian feasts and important national holidays.

The St. Kazimierz anniversary in Radom was a prelude to the Third Week of Christian Culture organized by the local Catholic Intelligentsia Club. In conjunction with the observance of the 400th anniversary of the death of Jan Kochanowski, a solemn Holy Mass was celebrated on 21 June at the parish church in Zwolenie. Chief celebrant was Cardinal Franciszek Macharski.

In Warsaw, from the 15th to the 30th, "Encounters With Art" was held at the Mercy of God Church.

17--elections to people's councils were held throughout Poland. Minister Lopatka reported that the majority of bishops and clergy did not vote.

21--on the feast of Corpus Christi in Warsaw, before an altar constructed at the threshold of the Church of St. Ann, the primate of Poland gave a homily that contained basic tenets of the social teachings of the church. In the context of the mystery of the eucharist, he defined the phenomenon of disbelief and the attitude of belief in relation to national values (text in [PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI] No 3).

23--At the Wawel Cathedral, the consecration of Bishop Marian Jaworski, who would take over the apostolic administration in Lubaczow, was held.

At the invitation of the Polish primate, Archbishop Miroslav Marusyn, secretary of the Congregation of Eastern Churches, was a guest in Poland.

24--on this date, the first issue of the newly titled PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI was published. It is no accident that our weekly appeared on the day venerated by the church as the feast of the birth of St. John the Baptist, patron of the Warsaw Archdiocesan Publishing House. "We Are Aware of the Risk" is the title of an interview with Polish primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp in the opening issue of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI.

In July

3--The Polish primate went to West Germany for the Katholikentag. Participants in the Katholikentag also included Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Bishop Kazimierz Majdanski and Bishop Alfons Nossol. The motto of this year's Katholikentag (4-8 July in Munich) was: "Trust life, for God is living through it with us." Guests from around the world included 80 bishops and tens of thousands of the faithful.

13--the trial against the founders of the Social Self-Defense Committee-Committee for the Defense of Workers began before the Warsaw Military District Court.

The Provincial Prosecutor in Warsaw sent a bill of indictment against Father Jerzy Popieluszko to the Regional Court. A similar bill of indictment was brought against Father Chancellor Henryk Jankowski from St Brigid's Parish in Gdansk.

16--the Provincial Court in Warsaw rendered a sentence on the cause of the death of Grzegorz Przemyk (see PK Nos 6 and 8).

16--news of the Holy Father's skiing trip circulated through the world. The pope spent 2 days resting at the Adamello massif in the Alps, spending most of his time skiing. The pope was accompanied by Italian President Sandro Pertini.

17--at the parish of Blessed Queen Jadwiga in Krowodrz, the 600th anniversary of the arrival of the patroness of this church into Krakow was celebrated.

21--the PRL Sejm passed a law on amnesty.

26--the primate of Poland took part in a celebration in honor of St Liborius in Paderborn in the FRG. On 31 July, Bishop Lech Kaczmarek, ordinary of the Gdansk diocese, died.

In August

1--in the Warsaw archdiocesan cathedral, solemn High Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski for the intention of participants in the Warsaw Uprising. Monsignor Zdzislaw Krol, chancellor of the Warsaw Curia, delivered the homily. Before giving his blessing, the Polish primate gave his message to the many faithful in attendance.

In many churches of Warsaw and throughout Poland, in addition to the offering of masses for the intention of uprising participants, special artistic programs were presented. (Let us note: a 17 July decision of the Warsaw-City administration suspended the Presidium of the Social Committee for Building the "Warsaw Uprising of 1944" Monument and a Provisional Board was appointed.)

1--the Gdansk cathedral chapter elected the administrator of the Gdansk Diocese to govern it until the Apostolic See names a new ordinary. Bishop Tadeusz Gocłowski was elected apostolic administrator.

3 and 4--funeral services were held in Gdansk and Oliwa for the late Bishop Lech Kaczmarek, Gdansk ordinary. Several dozen bishops took part in the services. Cardinal Franciszek Macharski said the Requiem Mass; Cardinal Jozef Glemp delivered the homily. The primate noted that the late Bishop Lech often repeated and practiced in his life the motto inscribed on the Gdansk coat of arms: "Nec timide nec temere" deliberately and courageously. Following

Holy Mass, the casket was transferred to the Oliwa cathedral. Tens of thousands of residents of the Tri-City area gathered in the streets. The entire route of the bishop's final journey was strewn with flowers.

15--on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, pilgrims from all parts of Poland visited the Jasna Gora sanctuary. There were 32 pilgrimages of people traveling on foot from every diocese, about 500,000 faithful. The main service brought together more than 300,000 pilgrims from Poland and abroad at Jasna Gora. Participating in the ceremonies were the following guests from abroad: Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, archbishop of Chicago, Bishop Alfred Abramowicz and Bishop Daniel Ryan (United States), Archbishop Peter Shirayanagi from Tokyo, Bishop Stefan Laszlo from Eisenstadt (Austria), Bishop Jerome Hastrick from Gallo (Mexico) and Antonio Jose, vicar of the French Episcopate in Lourdes. Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp delivered the homily. (In this homily Father Primate addressed the Polish-German problem. We published the text in PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, No 11.)

18--in Szczawa a patriotic-religious celebration took place in conjunction with the 40th anniversary of the partisan struggles waged in Podhale. Tarnow Ordinary Bishop Jerzy Ablewicz was the main celebrant of Holy Mass. The Polish primate took part in these ceremonies and gave a pastoral address.

19--in Szczyrzyc there was a beautiful anniversary celebration of 750 years of the work of the Cistercians. During the jubilee celebration, the Polish primate crowned the Child Jesus and the Blessed Mother (the crowns had been blessed by the Holy Father).

19--in Piekary Slaskie the annual pilgrimage of women, mothers and children was held.

At the invitation of the episcopate, the secretary of the FRG Episcopate, Rev Prelate Wilhelm Schatzler visited Poland. During this visit, he held a 3-hour discussion in Zakopane with Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

23--in conjunction with the observance of the 500th anniversary of the death of the patron of Lithuania, the Holy Father sent a message to Bishop Liudas Povilonis, chairman of the Conference of the Lithuanian Episcopate. On 25 August, the Holy Father said Holy Mass in Lithuanian in his chapel at Castel Gandolfo and gave the homily in this language as well. The mass was transmitted by Radio Vatican.

26--the patronal feast of Our Lady of Jasna Gora brought together thousands of pilgrims. Main celebrant of Holy Mass was Cardinal Franciszek Macharski assisted by Bishop Czeslaw Domin. Participants included the Polish primate and 21 bishops, higher monastic superiors and hundreds of members of the clergy. The primate extended pastoral words about the helpmates to the Mother of the Church.

27-29--in Wroclaw the 14th Pastoral Days was held. The major subject of the conference was "Man in Society."

29-30--the Warmia Pastoral Days, whose major topic was rural sacral construction.



In September

1--at Wawolnica, at the famous shrine of the Lublin Diocese, the consecration of Priest Bishop Jan Srutwa as auxiliary bishop of Lublin was held. The Polish primate led the ceremonies. The new bishop adopted for his service the motto of Lublin Catholic University--"To Effect Truth in Love."

2--the harvest festival at Jasna Gora brought together more than 100,000 peasants. A ceremonial mass was celebrated by Wroclaw metropolitan, Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz. The homily was delivered by Cardinal Jozef Glomp, primate of Poland.

3--the Apostolic See published a very important document of the Congregation on Teaching the Faith entitled: "Instruction on Several Aspects of 'Liberation Theology'." This document was criticized very severely by the national mass media.

4-- under the chairmanship of Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski and Deputy Minister of Agriculture Stanislaw Grzesiak, a meeting of the church-governmental commission for the Agricultural Foundation was held. (In PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI No 8 we published an extensive interview with Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski.)

7--Cardinal Jozef Glomp, Polish primate, went to Italy to take part in the coronation ceremony of a portrait of Our Lady in Udine.

8--the Holy Father embarked upon his 23d journey that took him to Canada. The Holy Father's pilgrimage lasted until 20 September. (Report in issues No 15 and 16 of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI.)

17-23--another series of "Encounters With Art" at the Mercy of God Church in Warsaw. (We have given detailed information on the programs of activities of the Archdiocesan Museum, the center for the Pastorate of Artistic Communities in the church of No 2 Przyrynek Street and other churches in the capital and throughout the country.)

19-20--the Fall Congregation of Priest-Deacons of the Warsaw Archdiocese took place, participated in by the Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glomp and the Secretary of the Episcopate Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski. Deliberations were chaired by Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek.

20--Mitred Prelate Father Hieronim Gozdziewicz, canon of the primate's chapter in Gniezno, director of the Secretariat of the Primate of Poland, died.

22-30--the Christian Days of the Family took place in Przemyśl. In discussions conducted by scholars and journalists from all over Poland, the most vital problems of today's Polish family were considered and solutions were sought to the most serious problems.

26-27--the 202d Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated in Warsaw. The bishops considered issues of catechization conducted in our homeland. They thanked all countrymen that had heeded the call to abstain from alcoholic beverages and advised the creation of abstinence guilds named for

St. Maximilian. We read in the communique: "In considering the current situation in Poland, the bishops stressed the need for the real renewal of national life in its entirety, i.e., moral renewal, the renewal of sociopolitical life and the ordering of economic life, for which we need calm and group effort. (...) The recent amnesty for political prisoners is felt to be a step in the right direction. We await the next moves of the state authorities aimed at implementing the 1980 Social Agreements (...) The bishops confirmed the 17 September letter from the secretary of the episcopate to the state authorities announcing reservations regarding the reported plan to introduce the penalty of exile into the penal code."

27-30--the 14th Sacrosong with the motto "Toward a Civilization of Love" was held at the St. Maximilian Kolbe Church in Mistrzejowice.

30--in Ostrow Wielkopolski, a celebration was held to dedicate the rebuilt monument to Cardinal Mieczyslaw Halka-Ledochowski, primate of Poland. Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, dedicated the monument.

In October

Christian Culture Week celebrations were held in many Polish cities. They already have become an important institution for cultural development. In Bialystok, Krakow, Opole, Raciborz and Wroclaw, the most important artists and representatives of scholarly communities [gathered together]. The number of people interesting in taking part in these meetings continues to grow. The new academic year opened in Lublin and Warsaw. The 100th anniversary of the Warsaw cemetery at Brodnia was celebrated...

10-13--the Holy Father's 24th apostolic journey. The entire trip lasted 70 hours. The pope traveled 16,800 km, visiting the faithful of Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico (report: PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, No 19.)

13-14--the Polish Episcopate took part in the closing ceremonies of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the death of St. Kazimierz Krolewicz held in Bialystok.

20-21--the primate of Poland took part in ceremonies celebrating the 40th anniversary of the work of the Catholic Church in the Koszalin-Kolobrzeg areas held at the Koszalin and Kolobrzeg cathedrals.

22-23--Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, visited the GDR.

In Warsaw on 18 October, on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, patron of doctors, Bishop Zbigniew Kraszewski celebrated Holy Mass for the intention of the health care service at the church of the Visitation Sisters. The national chaplain of physicians, Father Chancellor Zdzislaw Krol, participated. Father Jerzy Popieluszko was also in attendance...

19 October--the kidnaping and bestial murder.

The minister of internal affairs revealed the names of the murderers, the head and two employees of a division of one of the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] departments.

31--The Polish primate appointed a committee for organizing the funeral of the murdered Father Jerzy Popieluszko, [----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, "On the Control of Publications and Public Performances," article 2 point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, revised 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, item 204)].

In November

2--The Polish primate, taking into consideration the opinion of the parish pastor from the parish dedicated to St. Stanislaw Kostka on Zoliborze Street in Warsaw and for social reasons as well, due to the unusual nature of the funeral, approved the interment of the body of the late Father Jerzy Popieluszko in a grave on the grounds adjacent to the parish church.

3--faithful from all over Poland, from individual parishes, from community pastorates, from all dioceses [came to Warsaw]; the Polish primate, bishops, (...), the parish pastor (gravely ill, came straight from the hospital). The Holy Father's prayer was recited together with the faithful at Mediolany Cemetery. Father Jerzy's closest friends bade farewell to him...(see the PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI report in Nos 21-24).

10--in Wroclaw, at the cathedral dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the Polish primate participated in the opening ceremonies celebrating 40 years of the work of the church in Dolny Slask.

11--on the anniversary of the regaining of independence, Holy Mass was said in many churches all around Poland for the intention of the homeland. Father Jerzy Popieluszko was to have said this mass at Suchowola, his home parish. This special Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated by the apostolic administrator of the diocese, Bishop Edward Kisiel.

17--in Lodz, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Polish primate, led the ceremony of the transfer of a picture of Our Lady of Czestochowa to the faithful of the church of Our Lady of Victory; the picture was presented by the Holy Father 2 years ago.

18-30--"That Good Will Conquer Evil" was the motto of the Tenth Week of Christian Culture held in Warsaw (PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI No 22, 24, 25).

In Gdansk, Kielce and Poznan, Weeks of Christian Culture were held; in Pelplin, Encounters V was held, with this year's topic: "The Universal and Local Church and Regional Culture."

25--in Czestochowa, Father Stanislaw Nowak was consecrated bishop at the Holy Family Cathedral Basilica. He was consecrated by the Polish primate. Participants in the ceremony included: Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Bishop Jerzy Ablewicz, Bishop Czeslaw Domin, Bishop Julian Groblicki, Bishop Miloslaw Kolodziejczyk, Bishop Albin Malysiak, Bishop Franciszek Musiel, Bishop Alfons Nossol, Bishop Jan Pietraszko, Bishop Jan Rozwadowski, Bishop Stanislaw Smolenski and Bishop Tadeusz Szwagrzyk.

26 (to 3 December)--Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp visited Rome.

29--the Joint Commission of representatives of the government and the episcopate held its regular meeting.

In December

6--Polish bishops, gathered together for their annual retreat at Jasna Gora, considered in the light of the faith, their bishop's service to the church and the nation and sent the following pastoral letter to the faithful:

"Aware of our deep ties with you, we have commended all the fears, the hopes, the needs and the cares of our nation to Christ through Mary, Queen of Poland, in our prayers. The murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko was a painful experience that has touched the conscience of people all over the world, and especially in Polish society.

[----] [Law dated 31 July 1981, "On the Control of Publications and Public Performances," article 2 point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, revised 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204).

We are celebrating Advent, a time of spiritual transformation, a time in which we open our hearts to the coming Christ.

The feasts of Christmas and New Year are approaching. We express our sincere wishes to all the faithful of the Polish nation at home and abroad. We wish everyone real peace and harmony in love and respect for civil rights. Through the intercession of Our Lady of Jasna Gora, we ask God's blessing for all Poles at home and abroad. 'Divine Child, raise your hand, bless our dear homeland, assist it with your power to find good remedies and lead a good life.'

Signed: the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops of Poland."

[Editorial note] This first summary of events is an opportunity for us to present the editorial staff that prepares these accounts (thus far we have published only the names of the photographic reports that have documented the events described). The editors of the news section are: Iwona Sarjusz-Wolska, Ryszard Skwarski and Tomasz Welnicki. Editorial employees that work in constant cooperation with this section are: Tadeusz Karolak (substantive supervision); Anna Bernat, Tomasz Borkowski, Leon Bojko and Andrzej Kaczynski ("press review," KUL [Lublin Catholic University]); Krzysztof Kłopotowski, Tadeusz Pulcyn, Janusz Reiter ("in the world") Arkadiusz Rybicki. Correspondents include: Father Jerzy Tomzinski (Jasna Gora), Father Grzegorz Kalwarczyk (Warsaw), Father Stefan Misiniec (Krakow) and diocesan and religious community correspondents (frequently seen on our pages). We use news reports submitted by the Daily Summary of the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate, the Polish section of Vatican Radio, PAP and the foreign press. The following staff of proofreaders has an important input on the ultimate shape of the news: Ewa Brzoza, Wiesława Marczuk and Elżbieta Saar, as well as the technical editors: Ewa Hagowska, Elżbieta Jarosinska, Ewa Nawrocka and Maria Waloch. Tadeusz Boniecki is responsible for the ultimate format of the news.

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POLAND

# DIALECTICAL ANALYSIS OF POPE'S CATHOLIC IDEOLOGY

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 40, 30 Sep 84; No 41, 7 Oct 84

[30 Sep 84 pp 1, 12]

[Article by Aleksander Madejski: "Karol Wojtyla's Ethical Views"]

[Text] I believe it to be indispensable, at the start of this article, to explain the reasons why I am making this critical analysis of Karol Wojtyla's ethical views, contained in a collection of his writings published in 1957 and 1958 in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, entitled "Ethical Primer". Let me say immediately that from this standpoint I consider the time I spent on carefully reading these texts, the kind of reading that a serious critique of someone else's work requires, as time that was not very well spent. This is because, as I try to show below, it was time spent in reading, for the most part, dry scholastic speculations. And to tell the truth, in view of the very immanent content of these writings, I would pass over them in my critical-theoretical searchings. And that, I believe, should be their fate: They should be treated (whether revived or not) the same as a multitude of average philosophical writings, written by followers of various schools and directions, religious as well as secular.

However, the writings which I will examine here, as well as many others written long ago by Karol Wojtyla before he became pope, are now treated as a significant sociological and ideological fact, which cannot be ignored. The authority of the office now held by their author gives them a derivative social value. For example, the Scientific Society of Lublin Catholic University, last year published a 100,000-copy edition of the "Ethical Primer," and earlier, in 1979, 10,000 copies were published as part of this author's writings in a volume entitled "In the Service of Christ." Many Catholic ideologues and politicians refer to these writings as a basic, although general, argument in their various reasonings. And since this is so, a closer look should be taken at this argumentational resource and the professional quality of this work.

We should not agree to the ideological reductionism which is quite commonly being practiced within the sphere of the influence of the Catholic Church toward artistic and theoretical activity. This reductionism consists of "reducing" the specific qualities of an artistic or theoretically scientific work to the area of the specific qualities of religion, through vulgar subordination of the value of the artistic or philosophical work to a function which serves religion and its tasks.

This problem requires somewhat more explanation. I have no intention of denying the author of an artistic or philosophical work the right to "devote" it to the service of a particular idea or ideology. On the contrary, I believe that every work, artistic or philosophical, worthy of note "serves" some idea, and the greatness and genuineness of this idea and the ideological commitment become an untransferable component of the work itself. However, this order must not be reversed. That is, the qualities of an artistic or theoretical work must not be measured by its ideological intentions and zeal for ideological service. This reversal, particularly when it is practiced to the extent that it is publicly evident, is pernicious: It causes devastation in the spiritual life of a society. This devastation consists of reducing the various and differentiated forms of this life (artistic, theoretical, scientific, moral) to one dimension, to the dimension of one form, which regards itself to be the "highest," primary, fundamental, etc., and which, as such, is supposed to constitute the only justification for all creative activity accomplished outside of it.

We know very well that this reductionism, with all its perniciousness, was and is being practiced by ideologues, and not just religious ones, in the strict sense. But its importance here has a religious character: It is here that the triumphal domination of everything that is holy over all efforts of the human spirit is accepted with dangerous naivete and lack of criticism among the masses. This is accomplished even more effectively because it is subject to the absolute laws of the commodity-money market, on which trade with devotional articles is very profitable--so long as religion is the "sigh of the unfeeling world" of material interests.

That about which I speak is revealed spectacularly in the treatment of K. Wojtyla's "literary" writings. I do not know whether ever before in the history of the church a pope published his own writings, scribbles explained by pious intentions.

However, the ethical writings of this author are another matter. K. Wojtyla is a skilled philosopher specializing in ethics. Therefore, if attempts are made to treat his writings in this field (and the devoted followers and propagators of K. Wojtyla's works are doing this--for example, the author of the introduction to "Ethical Primer," in the Scientific Society of Lublin Catholic University edition, Jerzy W. Galkowski) as containing incontrovertible oracles which should be accepted with uncritical, prayerful concentration based on the authority of the person and office of their author--then this is being done contrary to his expressed intentions.

K. Wojtyla, in writing "Ethical Primer," definitely takes the position of an author who, although he always leaves a place in his works for faith, nevertheless works in the area of theory, subjecting himself to all the logic-argument consequences of this state of affairs. It is precisely this fact which gives the right to apply theoretical criteria in criticizing the work. And here I would like to clearly state that I am confining my criticism to "Ethical Primer."

In beginning this critical examination I give myself the task of finding an answer to the following question: What is the relationship of faith to knowledge (faith in philosophical-ethical theory) in the writings being discussed. From the theoretically professional standpoint, where do we place this work among the now-appearing theoretical and methodological directions in ethics (particularly in Poland) and what position to these others (some) directions does the author expressly take. Above all, I am interested in the author's answers to the following questions: What is morality? What connections and interactions occur between morality and ethical theory, and what social role does ethical theory fulfill? What are the sources of morality and how is it determined? What part does religion play in morality? And finally, I will attempt to answer the question how the ethical postulates formulated by K. Wojtyla relate to moral reality, and in particular, how they relate to the moral reality of the Catholic Church itself. As we see, there are many questions, but we should add, even they do not exhaust all of the problems relating to "Ethical Primer."

Insofar as the relationship of religion to science, religious faith to wisdom, or to philosophical theory is concerned, then K. Wojtyla's position is simply idyllic. I must admit that I have already become accustomed to a somewhat more dramatic presentation of this complex question by Christian thinkers, and not just from the Protestant circles.

With our author, everything here arranges itself automatically on the strength of arbitrarily accepted scholastic assumptions and the strength of a previously accepted scholastic system as the "authentic science of being" (we should guess: after rejecting all other theories as not being deserving of the term "authentic"). As a result, automatism takes place here as follows: Deity expresses its will and accomplishes it universally in two ways, the natural way and the supernatural way. But both of these ways, expressing one and indisputable Providence, are essentially compatible with each other, and no conflict can ever come between them, as we already know by assumption. The natural way is revealed, described and explained by science and reason. As far as morality is concerned, the search always and without exception comes down to reducing everything to a "natural law: morality is given to people based on their nature. It is thus their natural attribute, just as many others, attributes which particularly characterize the so-called "essence" of man. As a natural property of man, morality is given to the intellect (science), just as it is realized within the framework of "authentic science of being," i.e., in scholasticism. Within this framework, it is given in a way that is direct, and actually, easy: the intellectual learning of morality really imposes itself with the force of obvious and ordinary reason. For the author of the writings being discussed, all of this is so obvious that we are almost ashamed to ask--how is it at all possible that during the entire history of human philosophical thought, and also in its contemporary works, moral problems aroused such enormous doubts and were solved in such a diverse way?

In any case, the consequences of this argument are such that actually the way to scientific knowledge and reason is totally sufficient for a person to understand the essence, source and functioning of morality.

And what about religious faith? Well, Revelation as a moral source and as a source of understanding and justifying morality is an overmeasure. It is something additional, added to the reasons of intellect, from which the believers benefit, the religious people, to whom--in this way--God speaks directly, bypassing the way of nature and its laws.

But on the other hand it turns out that the revealed sources and the way of faith in learning and justifying morality is totally sufficient for the believers, and the way of intellect and science, including, of course, the "authentic science of being," is also an overmeasure, and, as such, is not indispensable either as a moral inspiration or as a method of learning morality.

This excess produces consequences which are not perceptible to the author. Namely, each of these two extremes of argumentation and inspiration endures its additions, which are, from his point of view, superfluous. As a result, too, the unwarned reader gets a definite impression that everything here is developing forbearingly easily, from the distance of some kind of general conviction, that the questions that we people ask and our possible doubts and torments are really not very important. All of this has already been settled and solved, and we are asking, like children, about matters which are clear. The church, however, like the mother who does not correctly understand what she is supposed to do, leniently, as if to children, applies a temporary treatment intended to alleviate our doubts and worries. We must bear all this lightly, both ourselves and our problems, because one way or another it will find a solution already known in advance, the only solution.

This general philosophical position prejudices the theoretical and methodological status of the ethics practiced by K. Wojtyla. The most simple answer to the question, and the one most adequate to the real state of affairs, is that K. Wojtyla, in the work being discussed, represents the ethics of scholasticism, the orthodox Thomistic ethics.

However, such a classification is easily understandable in view of the earlier Thomists, including those of the 20th century, such as J. Maritain or E. Gilson of the foreign ones, and S. Swiezawski of the Polish ones. They considered ethical problems, in accordance with the Thomas Aquinas tradition, as well as in accordance with the classical philosophical tradition, within the framework of philosophical problems in general, without separating ethics as a special discipline, and not representing themselves as specialists in ethics.

Meanwhile, in the writings being discussed, some of the author's indecision reveals itself. On the one hand, he understands very well that ethics are not possible outside the sweeping background of philosophy, which prejudices its theoretical and methodological character. He also, as I have already said, finds this background in Thomism, as the only "authentic science of being." And he calls this general adduction to and reliance on general



philosophical theory in the search for morality "science" in ethics. And in this broad meaning which developed in the traditions of cultural Europe, he puts research over morality in scientific proceedings. Thus, as a Thomist, and in this meaning a rationalist, therefore a scientific worker whose research activities fit within the framework of the demands of logic, he comes out for "scientific ethics" and rejects the charge that within the religious inspiration of Christianity, especially Catholicism, it is not possible to practice "scientific ethics."

On the other hand, K. Wojtyla comes out as an ethic in the narrow sense, entering hesitantly into the area of positivistic scientism in ethics. He accepts the understanding of ethics as narrow, specialized and "independent" of the philosophical-theoretical background of "science of morality" as a science about the "moral facts." As a result, therefore, he accepts the positivistic dogma on the lack of transition from description to duty with all of the blessings of its consequences in the form of a division into descriptive ethics ("science on morality") and normative ethics ("proper"). He accepts, within the framework of ethics, the dull, empirical phenomenalism of the description of "moral facts," etc. However, one gets the impression that all of this--the entire baggage of positivistic scientism--is, on his part, only a conventional, academic bow to the entire positivistic threshings, fashionable in the late 1950's and thereafter in Poland, among ethics who had various names for their theoretical orientation. The author himself, in his positive deliberations, leaves this area as one not useful to him, although he says that it does not bother him.

K. Wojtyla simply does not concern himself in this work with other ethical directions, except for the "independent ethics" of T. Kotarbinski, to which he devotes a special section in his series, and a general criticism of materialism and that which he calls "evolutionism" in ethics.

As concerns Tadeusz Kotarbinski's concept of "independent ethics," it should be said that K. Wojtyla describes it accurately and also tactfully. And it should be remembered that he did this in the late 1950's, when Kotarbinski's ethical concepts to a certain degree effectively, and widely among the public, functioned as opposition to attempts at a brutal clericalization of public life in our country, undertaken under the guise of strengthening the role of religion as the only source of morality, and the Catholic Church as the only defender of morality and the only institution endowed with real "moral authority."

In his understanding of Kotarbinski's view, K. Wojtyla is methodologically consistent. For example, he states, in agreement with the actual state of affairs, that there are no differences, or at least there are no important differences, between the normative substance of Christian, Catholic ethics, and the normative substance of "independent ethics," because both of them express the substance of "natural" morality, and express moral standards and values in accordance with the "nature of man." They both agree on what, in the moral nature of man, is rationally and descriptively perceptible, except that Kotarbinski rejects the authority of Revelation as well as, and by this, the assumption of the supernatural cause of that which is moral. In other words,

T. Kotarbinski does not envisage the existence of God as a creator of nature and as a source of "natural" morality, stopping only at what is perceptible from natural morality by reasonable means.

K. Wojtyla's comments on T. Kotarbinski's agnosticism, as I have already mentioned, are tactful. He believes that caution is indicated in forming atheistic judgments. On the other hand, he adds an argument from the field of "natural justice": If moral behavior is to be sensible, there must be a final court of justice which rewards for good (this is a repetition of Kant's "practical" argument).

Before everyone who judges morality in nature, the problem of moral evil appears. How does one explain the derivation and essence of evil? K. Wojtyla does this in a way that is very traditional for moral theology. Man behaves immorally because in reality he moves about within a "depraved nature." Man fell out of the state ("hypothetical") of "pure nature" through original sin. Man constantly struggles with this inclination toward sin, thanks to volition which articulates moral duties, based on "sanctifying grace." Thus we see that it is believed that all of man's ability to perfect himself morally has a divine source.

Nevertheless, the author defends the opinion that under this assumption Christianity is still a humanistic ideology. How can this be so?

We know, however, that humanism, as a clearly defined and traditional spiritual formation of modern Europe, established itself by overcoming Christian theocentrism through anthropologizing it ("the mystery of theology is anthropology", wrote L. Feuerbach). And so K. Wojtyla argues in two ways on the issue of humanism. First he takes the path of J. Maritain, emphasizing that the greatness and dignity of man lies in what is subanimal in him: his striving to God, from whom, in essence, genuine spiritual values derive. We are dealing here with common Thomistic dualism: what is "worldly" and "material" in man is thus "animal", i.e. subhuman, and what is "spiritual" and "creates humanity", is by its very essence "superhuman", or godly. In this way Catholicism loses human values from both sides, reducing them to either the material sphere or to the supernatural sphere.

Today, when the expansion of primitive spiritualism and clericalism has become something ordinary, we have become so accustomed to this, to this base, anti-human dual reduction, that we almost do not see it. And yet we must say that calling "humanism" everything in the spiritual traditions of Europe whose surmounting lay at the basis of modern humanism and was the condition of it, is clearly an intellectual abuse, a corruption committed by J. Maritain, and which at the very least reduces all disputes about humanism to an insipid dispute about words.

K. Wojtyla, most evidently aware of the weakness of Maritain's "integral humanism" concept, attempts to strengthen it through a purely verbal assurance.

Thus man, in striving for God, achieves (updates) his potency, strives for perfection, etc. This additional argument is nothing more than a repetition, in "one's own words," of the ideas of Maritain, who, nevertheless, saw the heights of "real" humanism in the madness of medieval antihuman theocentrism.

[7 Oct 84 p 12]

[Text] Let us note here that all of the theoretical labor presented by K. Wojtyla in the little book being discussed is the labor of solving a formalistic puzzle. The scholastic ethical system which he presents reminds us of a toy for children, but which adults like to play with also, i.e., Rubik's cube. Whatever may be the starting point in how its component parts are assembled, we know in advance that all of them must come down to the zero state. Human intelligence is presented here as technical proficiency in this process of intellectual entropy. There is truly something disarming in this. Let us take a closer look.

What is the derivation of moral standards (i.e., morality)? The answer, about which I already spoke, is extremely easy: "The source of the standards is really supernatural, but the method itself of the derivation of these standards is natural." Moral standards are revealed, "Nevertheless none of the revealed moral standards can be contrary to reason or contrary to nature." This zero state of the scholastic "Rubik's cube" is nature, and, at the same time, Revelation. "Reason is to be sanctified by faith," and, of course, the converse. "Sanctifying grace," "assimilated" by the nature of man, is the "foundation of Christian morality."

We have already said that the author has differentiated morality (in speaking about "moral facts,") from the theory of morality, i.e., from ethics, even writing that "practice here goes before theory," but it turns out that this may pertain to other views, and those which are based on the "authentic science of being." That is, not the views of our author who calmly solves scholastic puzzles, treating them as manipulation within the framework of "Christian morality."

How is "Christian morality" possible and how does it differ from non-Christian morality? Could it be that all "true" morality is "Christian morality" because it is "natural"? And thus another morality would not be possible? Outside of "Christian morality" there would only be a "fall" and "evil", as the result of man's yielding to a "depraved nature"? But the scholastic "Rubik's cube" is solved in one direction only.

An important theoretical problem appears in the author's writings, a problem which in the past as well as now is giving the theoreticians of morality enormous difficulty. If morality is based in "nature" and its universal laws, then how do we explain the importance of the obligation and the freedom of man, and consequently, moral responsibility? It appears that here, too, there is nothing more simple. It is enough to swear by nature, to "say" that "nature obliges, that nature cooperates in certain of man's obligations." And so we can do almost anything we want with nature, it can be "persuaded" to everything, as long as the will is the will of the church and the will to answer its call.

And here is still another weighty ethical problem. Namely, the question of the relationship of an individual to society, which stands out particularly sharply in the individual-personalistic view of K. Wojtyla, who, just as this is traditionally unfolded in Catholic moral theology, sees morality principally as the matter of an individual and his relationship to the church. This solution inevitably occurs through this same swearing by nature: "This tendency (to social life--my insertion) is simply inherent in nature." The relationship to happiness is similar: "It is something natural and that is why it is necessary, " etc.

That is what the "mechanism" of "Rubik cube's" scholasticism looks like. However, the formalism, mentioned above, should be stressed.

In K. Wojtyla's writing, almost all of the traditional ethical and moralistic terms appear: moral standard, moral value, moral perfection, mercy, unselfishness, truth, happiness, pleasure, justice, etc. But all of them seem to function formally in the work being discussed, i.e., they are barren of substance. We know, of course, that morality is made up of moral standards, that man should strive for moral perfection, that he--especially a Catholic--should be merciful and just, etc., but we learn nothing about the substantive content of these terms, and thus we learn almost nothing about what in this work is called "Christian morality." Man strives for freedom. But to what kind of freedom? Man should be just. But how, in his practical behavior and in the world in which he lives, should his justness be expressed? It is only here that an area for fruitful discussion is revealed, while almost everyone will agree with hollow generalities.

But it seems that in scholastic ethics, just as in religious moralizing, particularly Catholic, it is convenient to employ hollow abstractions, which, however, in moral practice must be substantialized and concretized each time. A moralist (both person and institution) feels that he is above these actual moral contradictions, cloaking himself in "moral authority" at the very expense of this moralizing effort.

Yet it is impossible to consistently stay within the limits of pure formalism during all of these ethical considerations, aimed at all directions. The author casually reveals, to a certain degree, the actual social meaning of his views and assumptions, especially during the course of the argument with views that are foreign to his. We will now focus on what is casually revealed in the "Christian morality" of K. Wojtyla's writings.

First a matter that is purely theoretical but worthy of note, because it often appears in Catholic ethics and moralizing. I am referring to the question of ethical relativism. K. Wojtyla criticizes and rejects that which he calls "evolutionism" in ethics, and what should more accurately be called historical relativism (social, also, but the author does not write about this). This relativism expresses itself in the view that morality is subject to historical changes, not only (and not even as much) in its form but in its importance. That which in one historical era, which in a given society within its structural totality and within its contradictions, was evaluated favorably and which carried with it a moral obligation, in another era, either is not subject

to evaluation or moral obligation, or is even regarded as a phenomenon worthy of moral condemnation (for example, slavery, exploitation, racism, religious intolerance, etc.). K. Wojtyla definitely rejects this "evolutionism", or relativism, with the help of one definite argument. He makes it on the strength of the common manifestness of the identification of historical and social relativism in the functioning of social morality and in its theoretical conception with relativism in the moral assessments made by people in their moral practice. A drastic, though unexplained and unjustified, leap is made here between two different orders of things. Actually, it is even difficult to say whence comes so much general but baseless belief that in the practice of moral assessment, values, standards, and moral orders to which the attributes of absolutism and universality have not been ascribed cannot be valued and observed by people; beliefs constantly given the lie to by people's daily moral experience. In the functioning of morality in social reality, it is quite the opposite: people are moral if they make concrete choices not between the abstract general obligation or the lack of it, but between concrete, moral decisions which are loaded with concrete material substance.

K. Wojtyla, like most narrow-minded theoreticians of morality, ascribes the attribute of empirical individuality to moral practice, but the attribute of generality to purely formal rules, which, in this case, are set in scholasticism. Meanwhile, generality itself is entitled to moral practice, but it is a specific generality, and the extraction of facts and an explanation (shown in the light of scientifically reasonable knowledge and understanding) of the substance of these definitions lies within the scientific theory of morality. Scholastic ethics, however, has other aspirations and other functions, spoken of earlier.

Thus let us return to that which is "revealed" in K. Wojtyla's arguments, out of these actual functions of Catholic ideology.

This "revealing" is most complete in the author's polemics with philosophical materialism, and particularly with Marxism. And this does not ensue from any kind of particular "partiality" on his part, but is the result of a general and objective conflict of ideas in our times.

First, I must reject K. Wojtyla's identification of philosophical materialism with "moral materialism." I believe it borrows too much from ordinary, fideistic, ideological fallacies. From his ponderings (especially in the chapter on "Values"), although subject to thought "slips" which give rise to misinterpretations, it seems that anyone who is an advocate of philosophical materialism does not leave space for morality and other spiritual values, because "Outside the spiritual sphere, truth and moral good have no reason for being." Materialism, on the other hand, in this admittedly rather primitive, fideistic form, would deny the existence of a "spiritual sphere," since it is regarded here as material also.

What is this primitive abuse of argumentation based on? On the fact that a theoretical and philosophical dispute, on the nature of social and spiritual reality, is being settled by insinuations about the demoralizing character of philosophical materialism.

The above motive for criticism of materialism is developed in the author's thoughts on the moral problems of struggle. He writes: "Two systems of value: materialism and Christianity, and two ethics: the ethics of struggle and the ethics of love, are two roads and two solutions to the fate of humanity in every dimension."

Materialism is the ideology and philosophy of struggle, and not the love of people. It is a philosophy of struggle which excludes the love of man for man. This seems to be consistent with simple logic. Why is it so with materialism? This is the simple result, according to K. Wojtyla, of the "absolutization" of the "world of matter," the world of material values, which occurs in materialistic monism.

However, K. Wojtyla does not say that materialists, and especially Marxists, are calling for a struggle between people. According to him, the struggle is due to the unequal distribution of material goods by the people. He writes the following on this subject: "These measures (inimical--Madejski's insertion) are somewhat unavoidable because of the conflict of interest which is always based on the fact that some goods or entire stocks of goods are desired by both of the struggling sides. To a particular degree various material goods are a cause for struggle because they cannot in the same measure be owned and used by many different people or by many societies or groups."

Let us say immediately that such an understanding of the reasons for social conflict, the reasons for the struggle of people among themselves, and especially the class struggle (about which K. Wojtyla also writes) is as common in society--and it is particularly popularized by middle-class ideology--as it is vulgar and mistaken. We should explain, first of all, what, in this case, is the final explanation. Namely, why is it that under some social conditions, a "desire" for material goods breeds violence while under other conditions it does not? And above all, we should understand what is specifically hidden each time behind the "desire" for objects.

I think that no one will lightly accuse me of demagoguery when I mention the crying state of affairs in today's world. Hundreds of millions of people are chronically hungry and millions of people, particularly children, are dying of starvation each year, while the well-fed societies of the developed capitalist countries in the world grow in wealth, sometimes at the expense of the starving peoples, pushing them further into an ever-deeper abyss, as far as possible from the "table set by nature" (as written once by another Christian ecclesiastic, R. Malthus). What is the "desire for things" under these circumstances by people who, after all, are just like us, who watch helpless at the agony of their children starving to death? What does the Catholic Church have to say here while it is realizing its global ambitions, and what does its prominent representative have to say on this point?

K. Wojtyla writes on this subject in a polemic with Marxist materialism: "Christianity has another system of values, a system in which material values are only a part of the good accessible to humanity, and this part is, all told, the smaller part, the bottom layer. There is no doubt that Christian ethics tries to draw the strength of individuals and society to the struggle for the higher good."

The church, according to our author, offers people "spiritual goods" rather than material goods, and spiritual goods differ from material goods in that if possessed by some they can, at the same time, be possessed by others with no detriment to themselves and, of course, with benefit. "God," our author writes, "can be possessed by everyone and by all spiritual beings."

Reading the above sentence, we do not know what surprises us more: the cynicism, expressed unwittingly it seems, because it is inherent in the nature of ideology and institutions, or the boundless naivete?

Nevertheless, I do not intend to make my task easier, especially since it is my purpose to make a theoretical critique and not a simple repudiation of the views described--the defined, socially significant, ideological phenomenon. Therefore, I will turn my attention to this "unwittingness" in revealing the real social substance and function of the Catholic ideology.

It derives from the fact that the entire ideology, and K. Wojtyla's arguments also, originate and reside within the capitalist societies of highly developed countries and are the answer to their needs, and maybe even more so when we speak of the presence of the Catholic Church and its ideology in today's Poland, in the very center of societies who are building socialism in Europe.

Always, since the time it became established, the church has been on the side of the economically ruling class. That is how it is now, too. Can it be otherwise in the future? Personally, I harbor no illusions as to such a possibility.

However, it is from this social circumstance that the Catholic Church derives its relationship to property and to the entire mythology of this property and ownership.

The church and the people which represent it widely moralize about the deification of material goods and add to it the "riches of the inner man." But moralizing which is in contradiction with the moralizer's practice is worthless, and even more, it is a lie.

If that to which man devotes most of his daily effort and concern is of the utmost importance, then let us ask, what keeps the Catholic clergy, especially, alive today in our country? In the main, they show themselves to be a caste of greedy procurers of "wordly" goods for the church as a whole, and also for themselves personally and privately.

Our Catholic clergy today is made up mainly of people who are materially wealthy, and they obtain this wealth by the quick and relentless ways open to them as purveyors of religious services.

We should add that from this standpoint the clergy fits perfectly in the mainstream of the lower-middle-class and small-capital return to private ownership, with which we are dealing in recent years, and particularly the last few.



For this reason the church's moralizing is in agreement with the activities of a good many secular moralists, whose main concern is to combat the "envy" of the "wealthy" by the "poor", etc. For these moralists the entire problem of property comes down to the "personal possession of material goods," and the amount of this property is to attest to the "resourcefulness," "ability," and "intelligence" of the owners. In fact, taken as a whole, this moralization, both religious and secular, represents in the social awareness a broad victory of the "healthy" conviction that the only "real" and "serious" matter is the matter of one's own personal, "private" belly, and that that which will add color to and sanctify this horizon will be taken care of by the paid priest during appropriate rites and the wage-earning ideologue and moralist in the mass media.

The triteness, but primarily the fallacy in understanding the issue of ownership and, consequently, the sources of social conflict in K. Wojtyla's work resolves itself mainly to reducing the problem of ownership to the personal, and finally the consumptional, meaning the "natural", assumption of the ownership of objects by people. Thus this personal-consumptional ownership, its ramifications, size and forms, has much deeper social determinants which are inherent in the form of ownership of means of production. It is these forms of ownership of means of production prevailing in a given society which pre-judge and define the occurrence of social conflicts and struggles, particularly class struggles or the lack of them, as well as the substance and nature of these conflicts.

So if we are talking about love, then it is the communist movement, which is ideologically inspired by Marxist materialism, which has as its goal the building of a society free of class conflicts because it is free of the private ownership of the means of production which always gives rise to these conflicts.

The communist movement is in this sense a movement of the solidarity and fraternity of working people of all countries and nations, and it is also a movement which is building the dignity and greatness of every working man in the struggle for a new human shape of the world.

A free man, as Karl Marx explained, is a man who stands on his own feet, and he stands on his own feet when he depends on himself. But man also depends on himself when he depends on his own work, work that is socially organized, which has a direct social purpose and character, which does not pit people against each other but unites them.

Private ownership, on the other hand, is based not on the possession of objects by people, but on the possession of people by people through objects, as a result of which some people treat others like objects.

Karl Marx also wrote the following sentence a long time ago, but it is just as current today: "To demand of someone that he abandon his illusions as to his situation is to demand that he abandon the situation which cannot exist without the illusions. Thus criticism of religion is at its start a criticism of this vale of tears, since religion is the nimbus of the holiness of this vale of tears."



YUGOSLAVIA

PROBLEM OF KOSOVO ALBANIANS RETURNING FROM SWEDEN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER In Swedish 25 Jan 85 p 7

[Article by Ingemar Lofgren: "More Kosovars Will Be Deported"]

[Text] The Kosovar [Yugoslav Albanian from Kosovo Province] who was deported from Sweden the week before last, and who claimed to have been thrown in prison in Yugoslavia, is completely free and living in his home town.

This statement was made by the government after the information had been obtained from the Swedish embassy in Belgrade. This means that more Kosovars will be deported in the near future.

"This shows that the government was correct in its judgement that there was not sufficient reason for him to remain in Sweden," Department of Labor Secretary Jonas Widgren told DAGENS NYHETER.

"Furthermore, preparations concerning similar deportation cases can now continue as usual again. Being a Kosovar will not be sufficient reason to remain in Sweden--indeed, the Kosovars in Yugoslavia are autonomous," said Widgren.

Precisely 1 week ago, Kosovar Asan Zaku was deported from Malmo. He had sought political asylum in Sweden because he believed to be under surveillance by security police in his native country. According to his information, he had involuntarily gotten involved in the Albanian nationalist movement in the province of Kosovo in Southern Yugoslavia.

Rumors

Asan Zaku's appeal was turned down by both the Immigration Office and the government and he was put on a plane for Belgrade. But immediately after the deportation, rumors surfaced that he had been seized by Yugoslavian police upon his arrival there.

Because of the rumors Swedish police temporarily stopped all further deportation of Kosovars. At the same time, the Swedish embassy in Belgrade was directed to find out what had actually happened to Asan Zaku.

The answer came yesterday. According to the embassy, there is absolutely no basis for the rumors that he was supposed to have been imprisoned. After his identity had been checked to permit entry, he was allowed to go directly to his home town.

#### Official

The investigation into Asan Zaku's fate did not involve the embassy's own search for him. Instead, our embassy asked the Yugoslavian authorities: "How certain can we be that the information is correct?"

"There has obviously been a careful investigation, we have no reason to question it. International practice has been followed," said Jonas Widgren.

Lennart Myrsten, the Swedish ambassador in Belgrade, pointed out the same thing:

"We have received official information so it is one hundred percent correct," he told DAGENS NYHETER.

Why did it take so long to confirm the information?

"The Yugoslavian Social Service organization in question is a little more unwieldy than the Swedish one so it is not so strange. There are many who have to get in their two cents worth," said Myrsten.

#### Will Be Deported

At the present time there are approximately 300 Kosovars in Sweden, most of them in Malmo and the remainder in Goteborg. Most of them are being threatened with deportation, despite the fact that they themselves claim to be persecuted in Yugoslavia.

They were given a little respite while the embassy in Belgrade, under the direction of Immigration Minister Anita Gradin, investigated what had happened to Asan Zaku. But police can now resume deportation proceedings, as early as next week.

"We will first carry out the deportation decisions that have already been made. These involve five persons, and if they cannot submit reasons other than what we already have they will be going south," said Malmo Police Commissioner Hans Hansson.

#### Riots

Kosovars come from the province of Kosovo in Southern Yugoslavia near the Albanian border. Three fourths of the provincial population are Albanians.

In the last few years, the province has been shaken by riots, the nationalists want Kosovo to be an independent republic.

The government in Belgrade, on the other hand, wants to keep Kosovo an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia and thus puts up a hard fight against the Albanians' demonstrations.

Since many have been given long prison sentences, Amnesty International has been acting on behalf of the Albanian prisoners.

"If it is true that Asan is free, we can only be happy about it," said Christer Arnrup, active in Amnesty in Malmo. "But we need to ask ourselves how reliable the information provided by Yugoslavian authorities is, particularly since the Swedish embassy did not have any contact with him personally."

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YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIOLOGIST PORTRAYS 'YOUNG BUREAUCRAT'

AU032027 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Jan 85 p 9

[Interview with Dr Zivko Surculija, sociologist and professor at Belgrade University by Bosko Grbic--place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Thanks to generation renewal, bureaucracy has also been renewed recently. In the lack of scientific results, I will profer my empirical experience. Among young bureaucrats, I have mostly met people who do not have work experience in the economy, or in scientific institutions, banks, and the like. They are cynical and pragmatic. Their basic trait is careerism and a struggle to protect privileges that are not small (apartment, high income, car with a driver, inexpensive vacations in restricted resorts, and the like). When you hear them speak publicly they are full of the struggle for self-management, for the protection of the revolution from anticommunism, for the control of the workers over the total income, and the like. However, in practice they fail to work on the implementation of any of these aims. And this is the greatest farce and hypocrisy--when precisely those people who have never and nowhere created income tell you about creating income. Those who never engaged in self-management talk about self-management. They care neither about self-management nor income, they care about protecting a system of privileges in which it is impossible to protect one's real position and attitudes. The bureaucracy here is "unfortunate"--unlike the bourgeoisie which publicly and through a constitution protects its private property--to find it impossible to publicly and constitutionally protect its bureaucratic, group-owned, and statist property. In other words, it must protect the ideas of revolution, the idea of social property, and the idea of the power of the workers class. Because it is nonproductive, bureaucracy does not have its ideology. And hence, the permanent discrepancy between the vision and norm which are good, and the practice, which deviates from them. If it were not for this deviation, there would not be a bureaucracy.

Our electoral system favors the creation of conformists and bureaucratic careerists. It is complicated and complex. It does not enable the average man to feel that he really elected his delegate, nor the delegate to feel that he was elected by a particular delegate basis. Cadre lists for influential positions are made in narrow circles and the young careerists--let us call them neo-bureaucracy--by a natural reflex develop a feeling of submissiveness toward those who are up and a feeling of arrogance toward those who are down.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TU BODY ON JUDGES WHO ARE NOT REELECTED

AU301754 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Jan 85 p 8

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Jan--When the term of office of a judge expires and he is not elected again, then, according to regulations, his employment is interrupted. True, for 6 months--in exceptional cases for 1 year--after his term of office expires he can receive reimbursement for personal income. Apart from this, a judicial official has no other protection. As a rule, it is difficult for a judge who is not reelected to find a job in another community, because he is looked upon with misgiving and suspicion from the beginning and is not rarely labelled as inexperienced or morally and politically unsuitable.

The assembly of the sociopolitical community does not even have to explain why the man is not reelected. In the SR of Croatia a constitutional provision deprives judges of their inalienable right to be delegates to an assembly of any sociopolitical community, that is, not only the one that elected them judges. By being without a job a judge who is not reelected is often punished for not acting in conformity with the narrow interests of local authorities or a group of individuals.

This was said today at the session of the Federal Committee of trade unions of workers of the administration, judiciary, and financial organs. Discussing the socioeconomic position of workers in the judiciary, delegates pointed out that the Associated Labor Law protects incompetent workers from other fields, because they can be transferred to another post in the collective, and judges do not have that right.

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YUGOSLAVIA

NO REASON TO IGNORE CHURCH 'AGGRESSIVENESS'

LD021038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 1 Feb 85

[Text] Titograd, 1 Feb (TANJUG)--In analyzing the activity of the church and religious communities in Montenegro, members of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work noted today that, in the past few years, the activity of the clergy and of sections and groups of religious communities have intensified and that various forms of abuse of religion for political purposes have also been manifested.

In his introductory speech, Marko Spadijer, member of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that "in our country too the church wants the reaffirmation of the religious factor's influence on the trends of present-day social problems. In wanting to demonstrate their power, all religious groups are particularly active in organizing large-scale religious gatherings and congresses in our country, and the Roman Catholic Church also organizes symposiums on very important issues, such as "About the Church, the Nation, and the Class," "About Marxism and Atheism," on "Science and Religion," on "Cultural Identity of a Nation"....

"The Serbian Orthodox Church is also intensifying its historical propaganda front and adapting it to the present time, while in its press one can find with growing frequency extensive material on "the historical past of the Serbian people," on things being better for the Orthodox Serb "when he will write his language in the Cyrillic script" and "someone constantly imprudently egging on political factors against religion."

The Islamic religious community, which stresses that "to accept Islam means to accept the only road leading to the victory of truth," does not lag behind in this either.

"The propaganda activity of religious communities, in Spadijer's words, is also not to be underrated. The fact that 200 religious periodicals are published in Yugoslavia and that, in the past 10 years, Marxist literature represented 0.6 percent and religious 2.7 percent of the total circulation truly causes concern. Foreign press, particularly in Western and some Arab countries, makes much use of the position of the church and religious in Yugoslavia to spread disinformation about, pressure on, and even blackmail of our country."

"But," Spadijer went on, "our aim is not to threaten believers or to consolidate sectarianism on our part but to try to eliminate our own weaknesses in implementing the established LC policy, to assess in the best possible way the above-mentioned processes, and to do away with shortcomings in our ideopolitical work."

"In Montenegro there is a specific situation as regards being religious and the activity of religious communities. It could be noted that the relationship in this republic between the state and the church, as well as the relationship between religious communities, is tolerant and basically a good one. However, Spadijer stressed, if we delude ourselves with such assessments and the traditional lack of religiousity of the Montenegrins, we could become ideologically blind, because the most important ideo-political problem linked with the present more intensive activity by religious communities in Montenegro lies in the sphere of national relations and culture. The ecclesiastical circles' message is that the nation can be defended only by the church. But which church will defend the Montenegrins? The Serbian Orthodox Church extols Serbianism as a whole and even on the territory of Montenegro, and its political attitude can be seen from its attitude to the Macedonian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. The Roman Catholic Church presents itself as the guardian of the national spirit of Croats and claims Boka Kotorska to be Croat territory. Archbishop Franic says that Boka Kotorska is "the altar of the homeland" and "the bay of saints," while Cardinal Kuharic says that the "Kotor Archbishopric is the smallest and the most outward one of the Croats." The Islamic religious community and fundamentalism, which emerges in a militant form in this religion, aim, in the final analysis, at establishing a Muslim republic in Yugoslavia."

"Furthermore," Spadijer went on, "'praises' by individual churches for self-management and our system represent, nevertheless, an attempt to open up pulpits for political propaganda, which is not in line with the legal position of the church. We do not need any praise or criticism from the church. This is not its business. It should concern itself with issues of religion while believers, like other working people and citizens, have the opportunity, right, and obligation to demonstrate, through social organizations and associations, their attitude toward the system and policy, to put forward initiatives and proposals, and to criticize or endorse."

In the debate at today's session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Commission for Ideological Work, in which secretaries of municipal LC committees also took part, it was noted that, in the past 2 years in this republic, the number of people attending large-scale religious gatherings has doubled while the church is trying above all to win over young people who do not have enough knowledge of religion. It should therefore be necessary to ensure through school syllabuses a more detailed study of the phenomenon of religion from the Marxist point of view.

Due to the ignorance of these problems, public media too carry superficial interpretations of individual phenomena in the sphere of the church and

religion that are not based on the knowledge of Marxism or of the law. Such reaction does more harm than good to the struggle against religious consciousness.

There have been no incidents in Montenegro that would make us concern ourselves especially with the revival of the work and activity of religious communities. But, as noted today, there are no valid reasons either to ignore the aggressiveness of the church. Communists must have a constantly active attitude to the escalation of religion. The existing methods in the struggle against the church's activity, which is outside the constitution have become obsolete and superficial. True activists who will rise on the spot from the public platforms of the socialist alliance against the activity of the church and religious community which is outside the law have not yet emerged in sufficient numbers.

The basic LC organizations, as decided today, should analyze in detail the activity of the church in their environment. They should be helped in the ideotheoretical respect, while the Marxist center of the Montenegro LC Central Committee and such centers in municipalities should work out programs of political schools and devise relevant manuals about religion, thus helping the ideotheoretical training of communists.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

## BRIEFS

SREBRIC INVITED TO BULGARIA--Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)--Borisav Srebric, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, today received Stefan Staykov, Bulgarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia. The ambassador handed to the vice president of the Federal Executive Council a Bulgarian Government invitation to visit the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During this visit, which Borisav Srebric should make during the first half of this year together with interested businessmen from Yugoslavia, the possibilities for future promotion of bilateral economic relations will be discussed. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 4 Feb 85]

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